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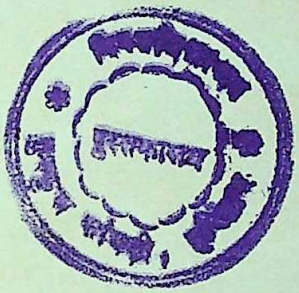

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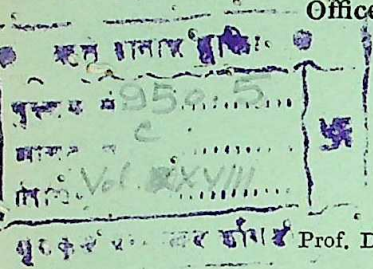

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NOTES ON SOME INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, *Ootacamund*

1. Sohgaura Bronze Plaque

A few years back, I published my own reading and interpretation of the famous Sohgaura inscription on the strength of its representation in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, pp. 84ff. (Plate I), and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1907, plate facing page 510.[1] Recently I had an opportunity of examining the original record which is the property of the Asiatic Society and found to my surprise that the reading of the inscription preferred by scholars who did not examine the original contains several serious mistakes. I am sorry that my own transcript and interpretation of the record, having been based not on the original but on its representations, are not free from errors.

The Sohgaura inscription was first noticed by Hoey[2] and commented on by Smith[3] and Hoernle[4]. The first critical edition of the record was published by Bühler.[5] Thereafter a number of writers have published diverse views on the reading and interpretation of this interesting epigraph. See Fleet and others in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 683ff.; *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 187f., 822f.; B. M. Barua in *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 32ff., *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 54ff.; K. P. Jayaswal in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 1ff.; S. N. Chakravarti in *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. VII, pp. 203ff. Unfortunately most of the scholars who wrote on the Sohgaura inscription after 1884 relied on its representations referred to above. It may, however, be said to the credit of Bühler that his transcript of the Sohgaura epigraph, although he does not appear to have examined the original, is more satisfactory than that of Fleet and others.

It may be pointed out at the outset that it is wrong to refer to the record under discussion as 'the Sohgaura copper-plate'[6] as it is a bronze plaque $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in length, $1\frac{7}{8}''$ in breadth, $\frac{1}{16}''$ in thickness and $5\frac{2}{5}$ *tolas* in weight. The plaque is a cast and the unevenness of its surface, according to Hoernle, suggests that 'it was cast in a sand-mould of imperfect smoothness'. Hoernle believed that this circumstance is responsible for the meaningless dots that stand between the letters and may be mistaken for *anusvāras*. Fleet, on the other hand, thought it improbable that such small lettering could have been satisfactorily arranged in sand and suggested that the plaque 'was cast from a hard or fairly hard mould'. The plaque has four holes, made at a later date, in the four corners. These no doubt indicate that it was intended to attach it by rivets to some other object.

There is no doubt about the reading of the first line of the Sohgaura inscription. Bühler for the first time read it correctly as *savatiyana mahamagana sasane manavasitika*°. He further suggested the emendation

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[1] See *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 85-86.
[2] *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1884, pp. 84f. with plate.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 85ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[5] *Vienna Or. Jour.*, Vol. X, pp. 138ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 261ff.
[6] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 261.

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mahamatana (Sanskrit *mahāmātrāṇām*) for *mahamagana*, although Fleet took the expression as it is and explained it as Sanskrit *mahāmārgāṇām*. In my *Select Inscriptions*, I have preferred Bühler's suggestion to Fleet's and I am still in favour of the reading *mahamaga(ta)na*.

The second line of the inscription was read by Bühler as °*ḍa silimate vasa-game va ete duve koṭhagalani*. The first letter is according to Bühler a *ḍa* of the Kalsī type.[1] But I find in the original a clear *da* of the Bhattiprolu type,[2] that is to say, with the central curve open towards the right instead of the left. It has no resemblance with the Kalsī *ḍa* with rounded back. As the other cases of *da* in this record is of the regular form, this reverted form is possibly to be attributed to the defect of the mould wherein the plaque was cast (cf. the forms of the letters in the legend of the coin of Dharmapāla from Eran).[3] This difference in reading, however, does not lead us away from the interpretation of the passage suggested by Bühler. He took the last six letters of line 1 together with the first one of line 2, viz., *manavasiti-kaḍa*, to stand for *mānavasiti-kaṭāt*, 'from the camp (*kaṭa*, *kaṭaka*) at Mānavasiti'. While accepting this suggestion in the *Select Inscriptions*, I preferred Mānavāśiti-kaṭa to Mānavasiti-kaṭa. The revised reading *manavasitikada* would stand for *mānavāśitikataḥ*, 'from Mānavāśitika'. Taking *ka* to be a meaningless suffix, the place name remains the same as indicated by Bühler.

The medial sign of *du* in the word *duve* in this line is not certain. What Bühler read *vasa-game* (Sanskrit *Vaṁśagrāme*), Fleet was inclined to read *usagame*. In the *Select Inscriptions*, I accepted the possibility of both the readings. The examination of the original plaque, however, now shows beyond doubt that the first of these four letters must be read as *va* and cannot be *u*. For the same form of *va* in Aśokan records, see Bühler's chart II, col. IX, line 36. The third line of the Sohgaura inscription was read by Bühler as *tighavani mathulacacamodaṁma-bhalakana cha*° and by Fleet as *tiyavani-mathula-caṁcu-medama-bhalakana va*°. In the *Select Inscriptions*, I preferred Fleet's reading of the second and last letters of this line. I now find that Bühler is certainly right in both the cases. *Ya*, which occurs several times in the record, is of the usual Indian plough type with which *gha* was never confused in early Brāhmī inscriptions. The reading of the first four letters of this line is not *tiyavani* (i.e., Triveṇī) as suggested by Fleet but is clearly *tighavani* as read by Bühler. Bühler's interpretation of this word as Sanskrit *tri-garbhāṇi* (for *tri-garbhe*), qualifying the preceding *dave koṭhagalani* (for Sanskrit *dve koṣṭh-āgāre*) seems to me quite plausible now.[4] As pointed out in the *Select Inscriptions*, there are representations of two three-storeyed (not two-storeyed as usually supposed, although the third storey is not visible on the plaque) buildings in the upper part of the plaque and it is usually believed that they refer to the two store houses mentioned in the inscription. *Tri-garbha* appears to point to the three storeys (each possibly consisting of one big room only) of the two store houses. The last letter of the third line together with the first of the fourth was read correctly by Bühler as *chala* which he took to stand for a word like *kṣāla* meaning 'collection, accumulation'. Fleet read it as *vala* for Sanskrit *vāra* meaning 'storage', whereas

[1] Bühler's chart II, column III, line 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, columns XIII–XV, line 25.
[3] Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*), p. 140.
[4] For the modification of *bh*, cf. *uṣava* for Sanskrit *ṛṣabha* or *vṛṣabha* in *Sel.* pp. 157, 161, 164 (*contra. uṣabha* at p. 165). Cf. also *gardhava* for Sanskrit *gardabha* in colloquial Bengali.

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I took it as *vala* for Sanskrit *vara* meaning *śasy-ādi-vitaraṇa*. Having now seen that the reading of the word in question is undoubtedly *chala*, I think that it may stand for Sanskrit *kṣāra* (from the root *kṣar*, 'to flow') and mean 'distribution' or 'disbursement' (the same thing as *śasy-ādi-vitaraṇa*).

Line 4 was read by Bühler as °*la kayiyati atiyāyikaya no gahitavaya*. The fifteenth letter should have to be read as *ga* and not as 'a stunted *ta* of the type common in Kalsī', although it seems to be a mistake for *ta* as in *mahamaga(ta)na* in line 1. I prefer to read the last five letters of this line as *gahiga(ta)vaya* = *gahitaviye*, Sanskrit *grahītavya*, 'to be taken or seized.'

It will be seen from what has been said above that any interpretation of the Sohgaura inscription based on the wrong reading especially of the sixth letter of the second line as *u* and of the second and last letters of the third line as *ya* and *va* respectively is necessarily unwarranted. Unfortunately these wrong readings of Fleet were accepted by most later writers on the subject.

It was suggested in the *Select Inscriptions* that the Sohgaura inscription may be palaeographically later than the Aśokan records. An examination of the original has now convinced me that the date of the inscription is not later than the third century B.C.

The correct text of the Sohgaura plaque, as made out by me from the original, is quoted below.

1. *Savatiyana mahamaga(ta)na [sa]sane Manavasitika-*
2. *da Silimate Vasa-game va ete dave koṭhagalani*
3. *ti-ghavani Mathula-Ca[ca]-Modama-Bhalakana cha-*
4. *[la] kayiyati atiyāyikaya no gahiga(ta)vaya.*

2. Taxila Copper Strip Inscription in Kharoṣṭhī

This inscription has been critically edited by F. W. Thomas[1] and Sten Konow.[2] Sten Konow states that the original now lies in the Calcutta Museum (i.e., the Indian Museum, Calcutta), although it is actually the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from which I received it recently for examination. The strip is broken in three parts. A portion at the beginning was broken away and lost long ago and could not be traced.

Thomas and Konow read the inscription in one line as . . . *meri[ḍa]kheṇa sa-bhayakeṇa thubo pra[ti]stavito mata-pitu puyae aghadakṣo(kṣi)ṇayae*. It has been translated: 'The *stūpa* was established together with his wife, in honour of (his) mother and father for the presentation of a respectful offering, by the Meridarkh. . . .' The name of the Meridarkh is believed to be lost along with the first fragment of the inscription. The word *meriḍakha* has been taken to be the same as *meridarkha* of another Kharoṣṭhī inscription[3] and as the Greek official designation *meridarkhes* meaning here a 'District Officer'. There is nothing to be said against the interpretation of the inscription offered by Thomas and Konow. As regards the reading, I am convinced from an examination of the original record that only one letter has been wrongly read. This is the third letter of the inscription.

Konow says, 'There can only be doubt about the third *akṣara*. I abstract from the apparent *u-mātrā*, which is evidently due to what Haraprasād Śāstrī describes as "the twistings and indentations on the

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, pp. 279ff.
[2] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, part i, pp. 4-5.
[3] Konow, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-4.

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plate". There remains what looks like *ḍo* or *le*: a vertical, from which a horizontal protrudes towards the left, being terminated by a vertical rising above and continued below the horizontal. It seems probable that either the upper or the lower part of this vertical is due to a mistake of the engraver and I accept Professor Thomas's reading *ḍa* as there cannot be any doubt that the word is a rendering of the Greek *meridarkhes*.' I do not see any 'twistings and indentations on the plate' which clearly gives the letter in question as *a*. The reading of the first five letters of the inscription is, therefore, *meriakheṇa* and not *meriḍakheṇa*. Here is possibly an instance of the replacement of *da* by *a* in accordance with a well-known principle of Prakrit speech.[1]

The correct reading of the inscription as made out by me from the original, is, therefore, as follows:

meriakheṇa sa-bhayakeṇa thubo pratistavito mata-pitu puyae agha-dakṣo(kṣi)ṇayae.

3. Ghurmha (Gorakhpur district) Plate of Jayāditya, V. S. 927

This inscription was edited by Bloch in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIX, Part i, pp. 91ff. with a plate.[2] The date of the inscription had been wrongly read by Bloch as the year 921 which was later corrected by Kielhorn.[3] There are also several other minor inaccuracies in Bloch's transcript of the inscription.

In lines 18–20 of the inscription there is a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* meter, which Bloch neither understood nor read quite correctly. The verse runs as follows:

dattāyāḥ paripālanaṁ bhavati yad = deva-dvijebhyo bhuva(ś) = tyāgas = tatra na ko = pi puṅgam = a-hatiḥ(teḥ) kāry-āntaram = bhū-bhujāṁ(jām |)*
n = aiv = ānyaḥ para-kīrtti-pālana-guṇo = py = āśasyate kevalaḥ | -(la) īdṛśyā(kṣā)ḥ khalu ye sad-āvana-ratā stutyās = tu te tyāginaḥ ||

Translation: There is no sacrifice as such in the protection of land granted (by previous kings) in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas. (Still) it is an obligatory duty (*kāry-āntara*) of the kings, (which constitutes) a great achievement (*puṅgam = a-hateḥ*, literally, 'a heap of success'). The very act of protecting the fame (i.e. fame-producing works [cf. *above*, Vol. XIV, p. 115] other than grants of land) of others is indeed not an exclusive (*kevala*) virtue by itself (*anya*), worthy of praise. But such persons as are always engaged in the protection (of grants of land) are really praiseworthy men of sacrifice.

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[1] Cf. Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, II, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXX, plate 1.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 4, note 2.

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Sohgaura Bronze Plaque Inscription

Taxila Copper Strip Inscription in Kharosthi

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AN ASTRONOMICAL BASIS FOR FIXING THE AGE OF KĀLIDĀSA (CRITICISM)

By NILMADHAV SEN, *M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Sanskrit, Maharaja Bir Bikram College, Agartala, Tripura*

Indologists and historians will remain ever grateful to Prof. P. C. Sengupta for his valuable and painstaking researches into the chronology of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In the paper *Time Indications in Kālidāsa*, first published in *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IX, 3, 1945 and subsequently incorporated in *Ancient Indian Chronology*, in which the learned author has collected most of his life-long studies, Prof. Sengupta with his characteristic ingenuity has made a laudable attempt at fixing the age of Kālidāsa, the prince of Indian poets, on astronomical basis. Out of the several passages from Kālidāsa studied by Prof. Sengupta for this purpose, the most important and seemingly convincing one is a verse from the 7th Act of the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* (*Priye, Smṛti-bhinna-moha-tamaso diṣṭyā pramukhe sthitāsi me sumukhi | uparāgānte śaśinā samupagatā Rohiṇī yogam*). Prof. Sengupta contends that Kālidāsa here refers to a full lunar eclipse which occurred on the 8th-9th November, 542 A.D., and at the end of which the Moon was conjoined with the star Rohiṇī (Aldebaran). So, Kālidāsa must have flourished in the middle of the 6th century A.D.—this is the considered opinion of Prof. Sengupta.

Could this theory, based as it is on astronomical calculations, be accepted without any doubt or hesitation, Indologists would have breathed a sigh of relief at the final solution of so vexed but important a problem as the age of Kālidāsa. But it is unfortunate that this theory of Prof. Sengupta does not seem to be acceptable, as we shall presently show. It seems that in the verse quoted above, Kālidāsa does not refer to any particular lunar eclipse, not to speak of a full one, which he might have witnessed in 542 A.D.; on the contrary, we contend that Kālidāsa in this verse merely imitates an imagery occurring several times in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The union (or re-union) and separation of the couples are frequently compared in this Epic respectively with the conjunction and supposed disjunction of the Moon and the star Rohiṇī. A few examples are cited below:

(1) When Rāma was proceeding to the assembly-hall just before the proposed Abhiseka ceremony, the city-damsels remarked as follows with reference to Sītā:—

> tayā sucaritam devyā purā nūnaṃ mahat tapaḥ |
> Rohiṇīva śaśāṅkena Rāma-saṃyogam āpa yā ||

[*Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirnay Sagar Edition), II.16.42 (corresponding to II.17.38 of the North-Western Recension in a slightly altered form).]

(2) In II.118.11 (corresponding to III.1.71 of the N.W. and III.3.11 of the Bengal Recensions), Sītā is thus relating to Anasūyā the constant companionship of the devoted wives with their husbands:—

> Rohiṇī na vinā candraṃ muhūrtam api dṛśyate.

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(3) Before kidnapping Sītā, Rāvaṇa thus saw her separated from Rāma:—

Rohiṇīṃ śaśinā hīnāṃ grahavad bhṛśadāruṇaḥ |

[*Rām.*, III.46.6 (corresponding to III.51.4 of the N.W. Recension in a slightly altered form).]

(4) In IV.35.14 (corresponding to IV.28.19 of the N.W. and IV.35.19 of the Bl. Recensions in a slightly altered form), Tārā, wife of Sugrīva, thus consoles Lakṣmaṇa:—

samānesyati Sugrīvaḥ Sītayā saha Rāghavam |
śaśāṅkam iva Rohiṇyā hatvā taṃ rākṣasādhamam ||

(5) In the Aśoka forest Hanumān saw Sītā in the following condition:—

kiṃ nu candramasā hīnā patitā vibudhālayāt |
Rohiṇī jyotiṣāṃ śreṣṭhā śreṣṭhā sarva-guṇānvitā ||

Rām., V.33.7.

Not only this. Even the condition of Rohiṇī during a lunar eclipse has been referred to more than once in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, e.g.,

(i) Rāhu-śatroḥ priyāṃ patnīṃ śriyā prajvalita-prabhām |
graheṇābhyuditenaikāṃ Rohiṇīm iva pīḍitām ||

[*Ram.*, II.114.3 (corresponding to II.127.3 of the N.W. and II.125.3 of the Bl. Recensions in a slightly altered form).]

(ii) sā tu bhūṣaṇa-hīnāṅgī candra-hīneva śarvarī |
śuśubhe bāṣpa-ruddhākṣī soparāgeva Rohiṇī. ||

[*Rām.*, N.W. Recension, IV.16.13 (corresponding to IV.19.30 of the Bl. Recension in a slightly altered form).]

It is needless to multiply instances, and from those quoted above, it becomes evident that already in the epic period it became a poetic convention to compare the union or separation of the husband and wife with the conjunction or disjunction of the Moon and his favourite 'wife' Rohiṇī. Moreover, the pitiable condition of the Rohiṇī during a lunar eclipse too almost became a poetic convention. In the 7th Act of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*, Kālidāsa, too, merely followed this convention while describing the re-union of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā; and the poet used the word *uparāgānte* as a general statement to compare the '*eclipsed*' mind of Duṣyanta and his consequent long separation from his spouse and the subsequent re-union to the Moon in eclipse during which period the planet remains separated from his beloved 'wife' Rohiṇī, but becomes automatically united with her whenever the eclipse is over. So it becomes evident that in the verse in question Kālidāsa does not refer to any particular lunar eclipse, far less the conjunction of the Moon, in the astronomical sense of the term, with the Rohiṇī at the end of it. It may also be observed in this connection that it is sometimes dangerous to make astronomical calculations on the strength of similes and metaphors which are very often based on poetic conventions and fancies rather than on truly scientific facts or observations.

In fine, we must come to the conclusion that Prof. Sengupta's interpretation of the relevant verse of the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* and the date he arrived at on astronomical calculations on the basis of his interpretation cannot be accepted as true. And as regards the age of Kālidāsa, we unfortunately still remain *in the same dark* as before.

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A NOTE ON DR. SEN'S CRITICISM OF A CHAPTER OF THE WORK, 'ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY'

By P. C. SENGUPTA

Dr. Sen has quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa* a line, 'Rohiṇī na vinā candraṁ muhūrtamapi dṛśyate', which means that the moon is not seen without the star *Aldebaran* (*Rohiṇi*) even for a moment. This is a wholly *impossible* line from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is an impossible line even for an allegory and should not be held up for any scientific criticism or examination. The moon is a satellite of the earth; no one has seen a satellite of this satellite, still less heard of its being given the name Rohiṇī. Now *Rohiṇī* (*Aldebaran*) is a fixed ecliptic star and situated at a practically infinite distance from the moon and the earth. The moon gets conjoined with this star only once, for a short while in about $27\frac{1}{3}$ days or a sidereal month. The writer of the criticism of my finding lacks astronomical sense. If it be a mere allegory in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the critic should have shown some positive instances where our great poet Kālidāsa has indulged in this allegory. On the other hand we have it in his *Vikramorvaśīya*, Act III, 20, the *Kañcukī* conveys the message from the chief queen to the Prince Pururavas which runs thus:—

> 'Maṇiharmyaprṣṭhe, sudarśanaścandraḥ tatra sannihitena devena pratipālayitumicchāmi yāvadrohiṇīsaṁyoga iti.' Or that the chief queen says, 'the moon is very clearly seen from the top of the marble palace. I want to perform my ceremony (of *priyaprasādanavrata*) with you near me so long as the moon's conjunction with the star *Rohiṇī* lasts'.

This period of conjunction would not be of more than one hour, taking the diameter of the moon to be of about half a degree. Thus Kālidāsa cannot be taken to have indulged in the apparently unmeaning allegory, that the moon never gets *separated* from the star *Aldebaran* even for a moment.

The critic is throughout obsessed by the absurd idea that the poet actually meant this in the line quoted by him. He says in his last but one para, that '*Rohiṇī* becomes automatically united with her (the moon) when the eclipse is over'. *Rohiṇī* cannot go round the moon, and the happening of an eclipse of the moon at any place of the ecliptic is the most elementary thing in astronomy. The happening of a lunar eclipse with ending near the ecliptic place of *Rohiṇī* is a unique event. This is not properly understood by the learned critic for reasons set forth above. If it had not been such, I would have never used it in my scientific work.

There may be some other Sanskrit authors or commentators who may have had this absurd notion—these instances are not to be given serious consideration. (c.f. Mallinātha in expounding *Kumāra.*, VIII, 73, etc.).

In the critic's second set of references he has made an attempt to show that Kālidāsa was a borrower of the absurdity from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In this also he has not been successful. The two references quoted by him relate to *Rohiṇī* and not to the moon. Even the word *saparāga* is adjectival to *Rohiṇī* and not to the moon. Here the word *saparāga* would mean 'danger' or 'disaster'; it might be understood as the conjunction of a 'cruel' planet like Mercury or Mars, with the star *Rohiṇī*.

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AN UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTION ON A JAINA IMAGE FROM MALDAH, BENGAL

By Asoke Kumar Bhattacharyya, *M.A., P.R.S., Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

(Communicated through Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji)

The present inscription in Arabic is cut in bold relief on the back of a Jaina sculpture[1] in basalt representing Ādinātha. The sculpture was found in a ruined *Dargāh* in village Sadipur, P.S. Kaliachak, Dist. Maldah, North Bengal, about 7/8 miles N.E., of the ruins of Gaur (Lakhnauti). According to the local tradition the stone-piece did not belong to the *Dargāh* originally but was carried there about eighty years before by some one from the ruins of Gaur. It was secured for the B. R. Sen Museum at Maldah by Sri P. N. Misra, Honorary Secretary to the said Museum. An estampage of the writing together with a photo-print of the Jaina image was very kindly supplied to the writer recently by Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Eastern Circle, Department of Archaeology, to whom are due his respectful thanks. The present study is based on the aforesaid impression of the inscription[2] and the photo-print of the image.[3]

The image on the back of which the inscription is carved represents the Jaina Tīrthankara Ādinātha. The date of the image is certainly much earlier than that of the inscription and the general features of the sculpture seem to point to a period between the 11th and the 12th centuries A.D. The image of the deity seated in the *padmāsana* is marked by the conspicuous absence of the *Śrīvatsa* on the chest. This absence, it may be remarked here, is a distinguishing feature with the Jaina images from Bengal and Orissa. The figure wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* and has flowing plaits of hair on the shoulders. During the Kushāṇa period and until the post-Gupta, which is marked by the introduction of the cognizances for individual Jinas, the only two Tīrthankaras that could be identified from their distinctive iconographic marks are Ādinātha and Pārśvanātha. While the latter has the serpent-hoods over him, the former is marked by the plaited hair resting on both shoulders. According to the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemachandra when Ṛṣabhadeva having taken off his hair in four handfuls was about to pull off the remaining hair by a fifth handful in preparation of his monkhood, Namucidviṣ (Indra) appeared on the scene and besought him to let his emerald-like hair remain on the shoulders adorning them.[4] The request was complied with and Ādinātha

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[1] Cf. An Arabic inscription on an image of Pārśvanātha, *J.P.R.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. V, p. 249, see also, Arabic inscription on the wall of a Jaina temple near Ajmer, dated 666 A.H., *vide J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 553.

[2] See plate I.

[3] See plate II.

[4] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Text, Atmananda Sabha Series, p. 69

मुष्टिना पञ्चमेनाथ शेषान् केशान् जगत्पतिः ।
नमुचिखनिषन्नेवं ययाचे नमुचिद्विषा ॥
नाथ ! तेदंसयोः स्वर्णरत्नोर्मरत्नोपमा ।
वातानीता विभात्येषा, तदास्तां केशवल्लरी ॥
तथैव धारयत्मास तामीशः केशवल्लरीम् ।
याञ्चामेकान्तभक्तानां स्वामिनः खण्डयन्ति ग ॥—parva i, ch. 3, Vv. 69–71.

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is invariably shown with plaits of hair on his shoulders. The tradition, it may be noted, is recorded in the Aṅga literature as well. Thus the *Kalpa Sūtra* states that the Lord plucked out his hair in four handfuls only instead of five, although without stating the part played in this connection by Śakra (Indra).[1] There is, however, yet another feature which enables us to identify the image to be that of Ādinātha. It is that a four-armed effigy of Cakreśvarī is carved in low relief below the double-petalled lotus on which the Jina sits. This figure of the Śāsanadevatā of the First Lord of the Jains rides as usual on the Garuḍa shown in bust, being seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* with right leg dangling down. The deity holds in the upper right and left hands a *cakra* each, while the lower right holds a fruit and the lower left the stalk of a lotus. The iconographic features of this type of four-armed Chakreśvarī are enumerated in the *Cakreśvarī-aṣṭaka* of an anonymous writer. According to this text, Cakreśvarī holds a pair of discus (*cakra*) in the two hands while the other two hands have a lotus and a fruit.[2] The cognizance of the Jina, a bull, is unfortunately lost but traces of it are still visible below the effigy of Cakreśvarī, which is enclosed in a circular band. A pair of lions flanks the central figures of the emblem and Cakreśvarī relieved on the projection of the cushion from below the lotus seat. The halo is formed by a double-lined thick circular band decorated with intermittent floral designs. The deity is shown seated against a pillow on a *pīṭha* with vertical standing supports surmounted by a horizontal cross-bar. In the Buddhist sculptures from Bihar during the 7th–8th centuries of the Christian era, Buddha is shown seated against a pillow on a seat with vertical stands, as here. This is the usual *paryaṅka* or *paryaṅkika* type of a seat also met with largely at Borobudur in Java. The seat was also commonly shown in South Indian sculptures during the 10th–11th centuries A.D.

The Arabic inscription in three lines on the back of the image covers a rectangular space measuring 2′ 7½″ ×1′ 3″ and is only part of the entire text, a considerable portion of it on the left hand side being broken off. The inscription apparently records the erection of a mosque by Muḥammad, son of ʿAlī, who had the title (بخطاب) *Majlis ul-Majālis*. The inscription, mutilated as it is, does not bear any date nor give the name of the reigning Sulṭān in whose time it was set up. It begins with the usual *Bismi'llah* and gives the oft-repeated quotation from the Ḥadīṯh relevant for inscriptions stating building of mosques. The style of writing is Ṯughrā of a simpler type. The vertical shafts of the letters where possible have been elongated and the tips shaped like arrows which are cut sometimes by the horizontal curvatures of the letters like ں, ب etc. The entire composition very much resembles the bold and clear writing of the time of Ḥusain Shāh and his successors, being clearly a reaction for simplicity against artificial and clumsy ornamentation.

Regarding the time of the inscription and the identification of the person credited with the construction of the mosque, we may state that one of the earliest references to a person entitled *Majlis ul-Majālis* as the builder of a mosque is contained in an inscription of the time of Shams ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh, dated 882 A.H.[3] The identity of the builder of the above mosque and the person stated in the present inscription as bearing

[1] *Kalpa Sūtra*, S.B.E., XXII, p. 283.
[2] *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantraśāstra* by M. B. Jhavery, Text, Appendix 23, p. 100—cf. चक्राणि भ्रामयन्ती विमलवरभुजे पद्ममेकं फलञ्च।
[3] *J.A.S.B.*, XLII, pt. I, pp. 275–6, pl. VI, No. 1.

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the same epithet (*Majlis ul-Majālis*) and who apparently is the builder of a mosque according to the purport of the extant portion of the present inscription, must depend on the following grounds. Firstly, that the calligraphy of the present inscription generally fits in with the period although it is none of the ornamental varieties of the Ṭughrā writing for which most of the epigraphs of the age show a tendency. Secondly, the epithet خليفة الله بالحجة و البرهان (the Vicegerent of God by proof and evidence) as used by Nāṣir ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I in his inscription from Satgaon[1] was adopted by Rukn ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh in his coins[2] and followed by Shams ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh in his inscription from Panduah, Hooghly,[3] which mentions *Majlis ul-Majālis* as the builder of a mosque during the latter's reign; the present inscription also has the same title or epithet for the reigning Sulṭān. The epithets ابو المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن 'Father of the Warrior in the path of the Merciful'[4] and غوث الاسلام 'Refuge of Islam'[5] as indicated for the reigning Sulṭān here in the present inscription were put in use earlier by Sikandar Shāh bin Iliyās Shāh on his coins. This makes it possible for a later Sulṭān to revive this epithet for himself. In fact, while Bārbak Shāh and Yūsuf Shāh use some one or the other of these epithets separately, Ḥusain Shāh assumed all of these together and used them in his inscription found over the central arch of Chota Sona Masjid (Golden Mosque), Ferozepur, Gaur.[6]

The above inscription which is dated in the 14th Rajab of some year which is lost, mentions one Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, who had the title *Majlis ul-Majālis*, as the builder of the mosque. He had also another title *Majlis Manṣūr* in this inscription.[7] In all probability our record refers to the same person as the builder of a mosque. It is interesting to note in this connection that the title *Majlis ul-Majālis* was in vogue for a period covering the reigns of at least three Sulṭāns, Bārbak Shāh, Yūsuf Shāh and Ḥusain Shāh and was available for all those persons who were attached to a particular Council in a particular capacity, possibly the Chief Ministers of the State as the leader of the Grand Assembly. Thus we know of a *Majlis ul-Majālis* being the builder of the Maldah mosque in 876 A.H.[7] and another that of a mosque in 913 A.H.[9] during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh, including a number of others during the period 882–884 A.H.,[10] in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. In view of the proposed identification the *Majlis ul-Majālis Majlis Manṣūr* is now to be credited with the erection of at least two mosques and a gate of a mosque in Bengal.[11]

The builder of the present inscription, Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī is called Mukhāṭib, Amīr and Hājī, i.e., an orator, a leader and a performer

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 270, No. 9.
2 H. N. Wright: *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 167, No. 140.
3 *J.A.S.B.*, XLII, pt. I, p. 275, No. 12. It must be noted, however, that some years later Nāṣir ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II also used the same epithet in his coins, *vide*, *C.C.I.M.*, Vol. II, p. 171, No. 162.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 152, No. 38. 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5, Nos. 52, 59.
6 *J.A.S.B.*, LXIV, pt. I, p. 224.
7 Ravenshaw: *Gaur*, p. 38; R. D. Banerji: *Bānglār Itihāsa*, p. 261; *J.A.S.B.*, LXIV, pt. I, p. 224.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 204, fn. 3. 9 *Ibid.*, p. 198, see also fn. 7 above.
10 *Ibid.*, XLII, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 12 and 13.
11 Cf. the mention of the gate of a mosque built by *Majlis Manṣūr* who has been identified with Muḥammad of the inscription of Chota Sona Masjid, *E.I.M.*, 1933–34, p. 5.

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of the Holy Pilgrimage. The former epithet and that available for the *Majlis ul-Majālis* in the Panduah inscription of Yūsuf Shāh (referred to above) dated 882 A.H., viz., 'Lord of the sword and the pen' strengthen the view stated above that *Majlis ul-Majālis* was probably the title for the Chief Minister of the State. The qualifying[1] word الولی for Muḥammad referring to him thereby as 'a saint' in the inscription from the Chota Sona Masjid fits in with the attributes of the man stated here, viz., 'Hājī (a performer of the Holy Pilgrimage). At least two of the Bahmani Sulṭāns of Kulbarga, viz., Aḥmad Shāh II and his son Humāyūn Shāh called themselves الولی on their coins.[2]

I have read the inscription as follows:—

lines

1 .. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى .....[ابو]

2 .. المجاهد فى [سبيل] الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة و البرهان غوث الاس[لام و المسلمين].....

3 .. مُحمّد بن على بن ..... بن .....(؟) امير حاجى المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجا[لس]

Translation.

In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate.

The Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be on him, has said 'Whoever builds.....', ... (Father) of the warrior in the (path) of the Merciful, the Vicegerent (*Khalīfa*) of God in deed and in proof, Refuge of Islām (and Musalmāns).....Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of..... .....the Chief (*Amīr*), a Holy Pilgrim and Orator (who was known) with the title of *Majlis ul-Majā(lis)*.....

[1] I take the word to be an epithet of Muḥammad and not as a part of his name, as done by previous scholars. Ravenshaw: *Gaur*, p. 38.

[2] S. Lane-Poole: *Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the Br. Museum*, Nos. 458 etc. and 471 etc., pp. 150 and 153.

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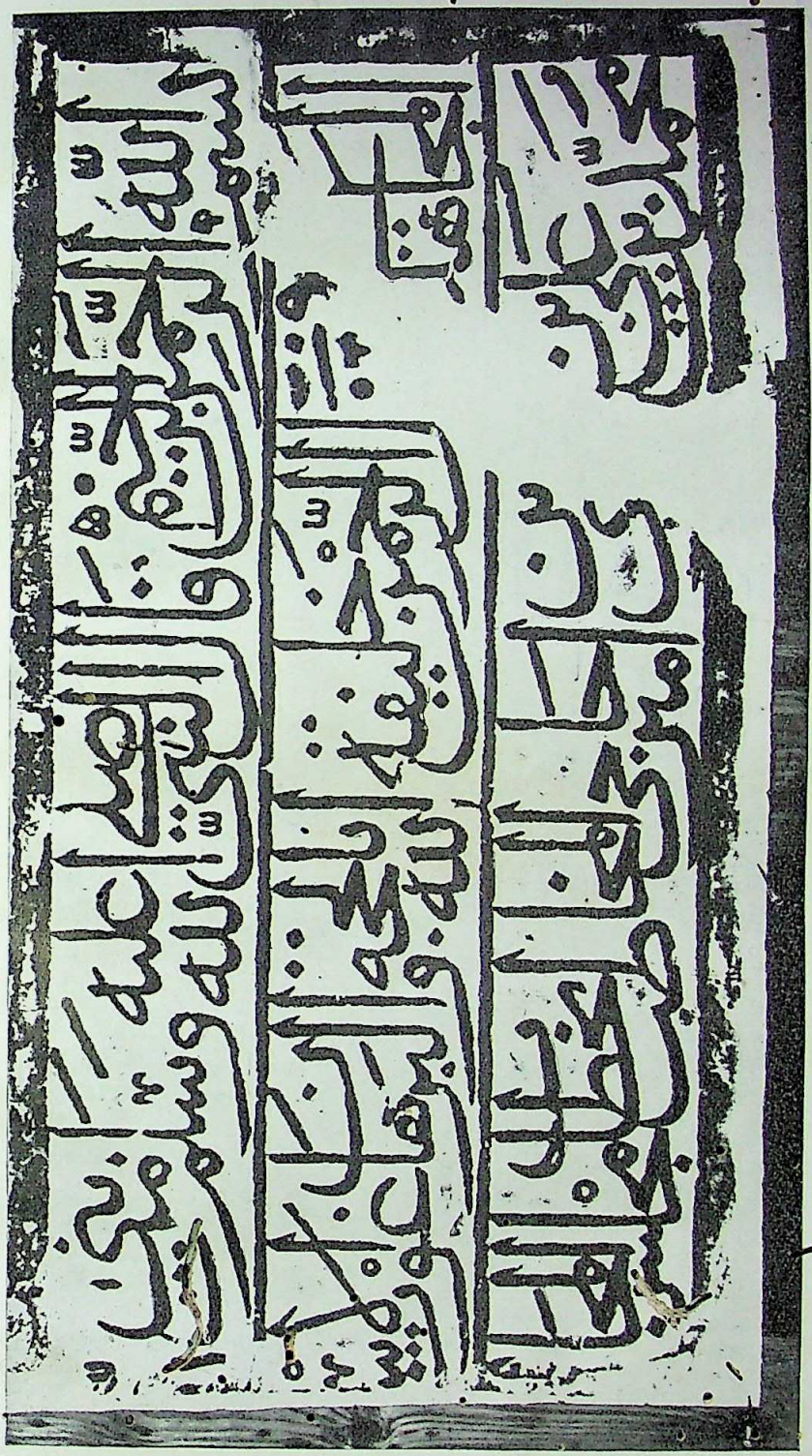

Arabic Inscription on a Jaina Image in the B. R. Sen Museum, Maldah, W. Bengal.

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Stone Image of Tirthankara Rsabhadeva found at Sadipur, P.S. Kalia Chak, District Maldah.

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LAC AND THE LAC-INSECT IN THE ATHARVA-VEDA

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Abstract

By critically examining the work of Shri K. N. Dave on 'Lac and the Lac-Insect in the Atharva-Veda', the author points out how even in such ancient times as the Vedic Period (2500 to 1500 B.C.) an accurate knowledge about Lac and the Lac-Insect was available in India. An assessment of the ancient knowledge in the light of modern scientific achievements is given in reference to the habits and the habitats of the insects under seasonal weather conditions.

Since the attainment of independence of India, there has been a helpful awakening among nationals of the country for the study of its cultural and scientific heritage. Evidently, greater attention is being paid to the study of our cultural heritage, for many remnants of the ancient culture are still intact and more and more are being discovered through explorations and excavations. Moreover, the investigation into the cultural heritage falls within the realm of Indologists and Orientalists and though they may differ among themselves about details, they almost speak the same language and have the same outlook. It is different in the case of the study of the history of science in India, for best results can only be obtained by a close collaboration between orientalists, historians and men of science. The Symposium on the 'History of Science in Asia' held in November 1950, at the Delhi University under the auspices of the National Institute of Sciences of India in collaboration with UNESCO Science Co-operation Office for South Asia showed the great scope that lies ahead for investigating the scientific knowledge and thought of the ancient Hindus.

In the light of what is stated above, Shri K. N. Dave's[1] scholarly exposition of the knowledge of 'Lac and the Lac-Insect in the Atharva-Veda' is most inspiring and instructive. As this valuable pamphlet is not likely to be available in most of the libraries interested in the study of history of science, liberty is taken to give a somewhat detailed account here. In preparing this note, I had the opportunity of consulting Dr. A. P. Kapur, Entomologist, Indian Lac Research Institute, Namkum, Ranchi. My sincere thanks are due to him for giving me the benefit of his valuable suggestions.

Shri K. N. Dave thus introduces his pamphlet: 'The title of *Sūkta* No. 5 of the Fifth Book of Atharva-Veda is *Lākṣā*, and the subject matter of the *Sūkta* is a brief account of lac, the lac-insect, the medicinal use of lac, and a prayer charm addressed to the fully adult female lac insect as a beautiful young maiden'.

The hymn consists of nine verses arranged differently in the two recensions of the Atharva-Veda, viz. (i) the popular Saunakan recension, and (ii) the less well-known Kashmirian or Paippalāda recension. Shri Dave has reproduced the hymn as it occurs in the former but he says that

[1] K. N. Dave. *International Academy of Indian Culture*, pp. 1–16 (Nagpur: September, 1950).

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the arrangement of the verses in the latter, i.e. in the order 1, 2, 4, 5, 3, 7, 8, 6 and 9, is more logical—a fact to which any careful reader of the hymn will readily subscribe. The Sanskrit text has been given by Shri Dave in the pamphlet.

Shri Dave has approached his subject in a very methodical way, for he has devoted the first 8 pages to a summary of our present-day knowledge of the biology of the Lac-Insect, which is accurate and written in a very lucid style. He has also discussed the medicinal uses of lac. Only then he gives the verses and his commentaries on the same, thus facilitating a better appreciation of the text. It would appear that the author, from his extensive knowledge of ancient literature, has sometimes assumed, though guardedly, more than what is actually contained in the hymn. I shall, however, deal here with only a few scientific facts.

Verse 9, for instance, makes it abundantly clear that the author of the hymn knew that neither lac nor the lac-insect was a secretion of the plant, for it is clearly stated that it is a creature which either crawls or creeps (larval stage), or flies (winged males). The ecological conditions under which the insect flourishes are given in Verse 1. It is a matter of common experience among lac growers that early rains in summer, say in February, followed by a dry period of a couple of months helps to produce a bumper lac crop of the Vaiśākhī (or Bysaki) strain. It is also believed by some that rain washes away the honey-dew secreted by the insect and thereby creates healthier environmental conditions for the insect. The beneficial effect of the rain and intermittent darkness and sunshine during the rainy periods are poetically expressed in Verse 1. The female insect is named *Śilāci* (one that has eaten as it were the red arsenic) after the thick red fluid contained in its body when fully adult.

In Verse 3, a remarkable observation that the larvae are gregarious and settle down permanently on the twigs is recorded. In Verse 5, six important host trees are mentioned and it seems that the author of the hymn certainly knew that *Lākṣā* was to be found on quite a number of plants and trees. The use of the verb '*nistiṣṭhasi*' in Verse 5, rendered as 'springest', shows the increase in size of the female lac-insect in the lac-cell, as in its earlier stage the female larva lies almost flush with the surface of the twigs of the host-tree. The sacred trees from which full grown lac-insects were taken for purposes of the charm and medication are enumerated in this verse. The further development of the insect is referred to in the other verses. It is a well-known fact that as the female advances in age and sometime before it starts laying its eggs, its body contracts, and the lac-cell in which it rests becomes yellow as gradually as the size of the insect is reduced. In fact, the yellow portion or the 'yellow spot', as it is technically known, is nothing but the empty portion of the cell vacated by the contracting female. It is this bright yellow or orange-coloured spot that has been described in the 6th and 7th verses as of the 'colour of gold or the rising sun'. Shri Dave's further notes on Verse 7 make it clear that the ancient sage was quite familiar with several other characteristics of the female of the lac-insect. The insignificant rôle played by the male in the production of lac is referred to in Verse 8. This is in complete conformity with the latest scientific findings. For example, it has been found at the Indian Lac Research Institute that the female is capable of parthenogenetic reproduction, the male has a much shorter duration of life and secretes very little of lac. As the males emerge early and wander about, they do not contribute towards the production of lac or the lac dye either. In certain seasons and on certain branches males predominate and in such cases the crop invariably fails. The ancient

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sage was thus quite accurate when he assigned the rôle of lac production to the female. The hairy filaments projecting from the breathing pores and the anal aperture of the female cell were also noticed and the insect has been correctly described as hairy-bodied. Again, the thick red fluid contained in the body of the female has been happily compared with the blood of the buffalo, the mount of god Yama who, as Shri Dave shows, is poetically supposed to ensure continuity of her (lac-insects) race.

From the commentaries given by Shri Dave and from the notes given above, it will be clear how even in such ancient times as the Vedic Period (2500 to 1500 B.C.) an amazing amount of accurate knowledge was available about the lac and lac-insect. It is still more remarkable that the scientific knowledge is expressed in beautiful poetic language.

As regards the medicinal properties of lac, to which references are made in the hymns, it is learnt from medical authorities that no research work has so far been carried out on the therapeutic properties of lac. Col. R. N. Chopra in his '*Indigenous Drugs of India*' (Calcutta: 1933, p. 549) states that lac is given in haematemesis and caries.

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CHICACOLE PLATES OF GAṄGA DEVENDRAVARMAN

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., *Ootacamund*

Six sets of copperplate inscriptions were found in a place near Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) sometime about the year 1913. They were noticed in the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1918-19 and were published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163ff., with Plates, jointly by the late Dr. C. Narayana Rao and Mr. R. Subba Rao. One of these records is a grant of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Rājendravarman. This is C.P. No. 7 of 1918-19. The *Report* simply says, without giving any details, that it 'records the gift of the village Viriṇṭika in the Puṣkariṇī *viṣaya* to four brothers'. According to Narayana Rao and Subba Rao, however, king Devendravarman granted the village of Viriṇika to Hetiloka, son of Vilaci, a resident of the same village. A careful examination of the record shows that the views of Narayana Rao and Subba Rao are based on a wrong reading of the epigraphic text. Some other interesting details of the record have also been misread and misinterpreted.

According to the description published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, this is a set of three plates each measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The ring holding the plates is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and the seal soldered to it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. There is a seated bull on the surface of the seal facing left and having a garland of bells round its neck. This main emblem has a crescent to the left, an elephant goad to the right and a fish below. The whole set weighs $110\frac{1}{2}$ *tōlas*, while the ring with the seal weighs $32\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas* only.

The characters are early Telugu-Kannaḍa. The engraving is rather carelessly done. The language of the record is Sanskrit; but there are numerous errors of both language and orthography. The inscription may be palaeographically assigned to the ninth or tenth century A.D.

The epigraph under discussion bears no date. But the issuer of the charter, viz. *Mahārājādhirāja* Devendravarman, son of *Mahārāja* Rājendravarman, is already known from other inscriptions. One of these records is the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year doubtfully read as 310 (806-08 A.D.), edited by E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311ff. The writer and engraver of this record are the same as those of the inscription under discussion.

The inscription begins, like other early Eastern Gaṅga records, with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti* followed by a reference to the *adhivāsaka* of Kaliṅganagara whence the charter was issued. Lines 2–7 describe *Mahārājādhirāja* Devendravarman who was the son of *Mahārāja* Rājendravarman and was, like other early Eastern Gaṅgas, a devout worshipper of the god Gokarṇṇasvāmin (Śiva) installed on a peak of the Mahendra mountain (Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district). Lines 7–9 say how the king informed the agriculturist householders of the village called Viriṇṭaṁka or Viriṇṭika in the Puṣkariṇī *viṣaya* that he had made a gift of that village in favour of Chetī, Lokaya and others (or Chetilokaya and others) who were sons of Kavvāsaka-Vilaci. That the donees were four brothers is indicated in line 11 below. Kavvāsaka-Vilaci may suggest that the father of the donees was Vilaci who was an inhabitant of a locality called Kavvāsaka. Lines 11-12 say that the four brothers would share the gift village equally (*sāmānya-bhoga*) with the exception of the land

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belonging to the *Bhaṭṭārikā* (apparently the village-goddess to whom a part of the village of Viriṇtaṁka or Viriṇṭika belonged from an earlier date). The expression *sva-karma-vṛttyā* in this context seems to suggest that all the four donees were priests of the said goddess and received the grant as fees for their priestly services. Lines 12–16 describe the boundaries of the gift village. It was bounded in the east by the borders of Māradāgrāma where there were a *setu* and forests. In the south were the borders of Puṣkariṇī (apparently the headquarters of the Puṣkariṇī *viṣaya*) and forests. In the west also there were the borders of the same Puṣkariṇīgrāma as well as a *setu* and forests. The northern boundary of the gift village was Kumārikābhaḍagrāma as well as some forests. Lines 16–27 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses as *Vyāsa-gīta ślokas*. These are followed by the mention of *Śrī-sāmanta* Sarvachandra who wrote the document and *Śrī-sāmanta* Khaṇḍimala who engraved it on the plates. *Śrī-sāmanta* is apparently the same as the usual *sāmanta* meaning a feudatory ruler. As the engraving of copperplates hardly suited a person of rank, it seems that Khaṇḍimala only undertook the responsibility of getting the plates engraved and did not do it himself. It may also be suggested that *Śrī-sāmanta* Khaṇḍimala was entrusted with the work of writing on the copperplates with some point or ink to facilitate the task of the engraver whose name is not mentioned in the record.[1] Other instances of a high official being mentioned as the engraver of copperplates are also known from inscriptions. The Puri plates (both sets A and B),[2] e.g., are said to have been engraved by Durgādāsa-*Senāpati*. It should however be pointed out that the Ganjam plates of Gaṅga Pṛthvīvarman of Śvetaka were written by the *Sandhivigrahi* śrī-Sāmanta and engraved by *Śrī-sāmanta* Svayambhūkāṁsara.[3] In this case, the writer's personal name appears to have been śrī-Sāmanta,[4] while the expression *kānsara* in the name of the engraver has been taken by Kielhorn to be Sanskrit *kāṁsyakāra* (brazier). Whether Kielhorn's interpretation is acceptable and whether it can be reconciled with our interpretation of the expression *Śrī-sāmanta* are difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Narayana Rao and Subba Rao refer to the identification of Puṣkariṇī with Śrīkurmam in the newly formed Śrīkākulam district.

Text[5]

First Plate

1. [Siddham ||][6] Svasti (||*) Amarapur-ānukāriṇa(ḥ*) (sarvan*)-sukha-ramaṇi(ṇī)yād = vijayavataḥ Kaliṅga-
2. ṇagar-ādhi[vāsa]kā(t*) Ma[hendr-āca]l-ā[mala-śikhara]-prativi(sṭhi)tas[y]a sa-car-ācara-gu-

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[1] Cf. *Bul. Dec. Col. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, December 1950, p. 120.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 150, 154. A *Śrī-sāmanta* Dhavalāka was the engraver of the Jangalpadu plates of Śatrubhañja (*J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, between pp. 182-83, text lines 32-33).

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.

[4] The same personal name is also found in that of (*A**)*mātṛ* (wrongly read *Mātṛ*) śrī-Sāmanta in the Tekkali plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman, dated the Gaṅga year 358 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 178). Cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 344, 448, 2041, etc.

[5] From the facsimile published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, and impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

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3. ro(ḥ*) sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-ai(ṇ-ai)ka-sūtradhārasya śaśāṁ-
4. ka-cūḍāmaṇer=bhaga-
4. vato Gokarṇṇasvāminaś=caraṇa-kamal-ārādhan-aika-tatparasy
=ānek-āha-
5. va-saṁkṣobha-janita-jaya-śavṛ(bda)-pratāp-āvanata-samasta-
sāmanta-cakra-
6. cūḍāmaṇeḥ p[rabhā]-mañjari-puñja-rañjita-vara-caraṇa-yugalo-
(lasya) Śrī-mahā(rā*)-
7. ja-(Rāje*)ndravarma(ṇaḥ*) su(sū)nu(ḥ*) mahārāja(jā)dhirāja-Śrī-
Devendra-varm[ā] Puṣkariṇ[ī]-viṣaye Viri-
8. ṇṭaṁ(ṇṭi ?)ka[1]-grāma-vāstavya-kuṭumvi(mbi)no samājñāpayati
viditam=astu vo

Second Plate : First side

9. yath=āya(ṁ*) grāma(ḥ*) Kavvāsaka-Vilaci-sūnu-Chetī-Loka-
yada[2] pradata
10. sarvva-kara-bharā(ra)m=apahṛtya candr-ākra-tāraka(ṁ*)
yāva(t*) śāsana-sthityā prati-
11. pādit=eti[3] (|*) catunām=api bhrātarāṇāṁ sāmānya-bhoga(ḥ*)
sva-karma-vṛtyā(ttyā) Bha-
12. ṭa(ṭṭā)rika(kā)yā bhu(bhū)mi(ṁ*) va(ba)hiṣkṛ[tya(ty=e)]ti
(|*) atra sīmo(mā)-liṅgāni likhya-
13. ne(nte||) pūrvasya(syāṁ) vi(di)śi Māradāgrāma-sīmā setu(ḥ*)
vana-rājikā ca(c=e)ta(ti||)
14. dakṣiṇen=āpi Puṣkariṇi(ṇī)-si(sī)mā vana-rājikā c=eni(ti||)
paścimā(yāṁ*)
15. Puṣkariṇi(ṇī)grāma-si(sī)mā setu(ḥ*) vana-rājikā ca (|*) uta-
(ttā)ren=āpi Kumā-
16. rikābhaḍagrāma(ḥ*) vana-rājikā c=eti(|*) atra Vyāsa-gitā-[4]

Second Plate : Second side

17. ni ślokā(ḥ|*) Mā bhu(bhū)d=a-phala-śaṅkā va[ḥ] paradati-
(tt=e)ti pā-
18. rthivā(ḥ|*) sva-dānā(t*) pa(pha)ra(la)m=ānantya(ṁ*) para-
-dān-ānupāla-
19. ne (‖*) Iti kamala-dala(l-ā)mvu(mbu)-vindu-lolā(ṁ*) śriyam=
anucintya
20. manuśya(ṣya)-jīvitañ=ca (|*) sakalam=idam=udāhṛtam hi
21. vu(bu)ddhvā na hi puruṣai(ḥ*) para-kīrtayo vilopyā(ḥ ‖*)
Va(Ba)hubhi-
22. r=vasudhā dattā rājabhi(ḥ*) Sagar-ādibhi(ḥ|*) yasya ya-

Third Plate

23. sya yadā bhu(bhū)mi(s=*) tasya tasya tadā phala(m ‖*) Sva-
dattā(ṁ*) para-
24. dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yo haranti(ti) vasu(ṁ*)dhara(m |*) sa
viṣṭhāyā(ṁ*) kṛmi(r=*) bhu(bhū)-

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[1] For the *anusvāra* in *ṇṭaṁ*, cf. *daṁ* in line 27.
[2] Read *Chetī-Lokay-ādyebhyaḥ-pradattaḥ* or *Chetīlokay-ā°*.
[3] Read *°pādita iti | caturṇām=api bhrātṛṇām.*
[4] Read *gītāḥ.*

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25. tvā pitṛbhi(ḥ*) saha pacyate (‖*) Hiraṇya(ṇya)m=ekaṃ
gām=ekā[ṁ] bhu(bhū)mo(me)=
26. r=apy=ekam=aṅgula(m |*) hara(n*) narakam=āyāṭi yāvad=
=ābhu(bhū)-
27. ti(ta)-saṁplava(m ‖*) likhitam=idaṁ Sarvvacandra-śri(śrī)-sāmanten=eti (|*)
28. u[tkīrṇṇaṁ] tāmra-śāsana(ṁ*) śri(śrī)-sāmanta-Khaṇḍimala(le)-
n=eti (‖*)

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Chicacole Plates of Ganga Dovendravarman
First Plate

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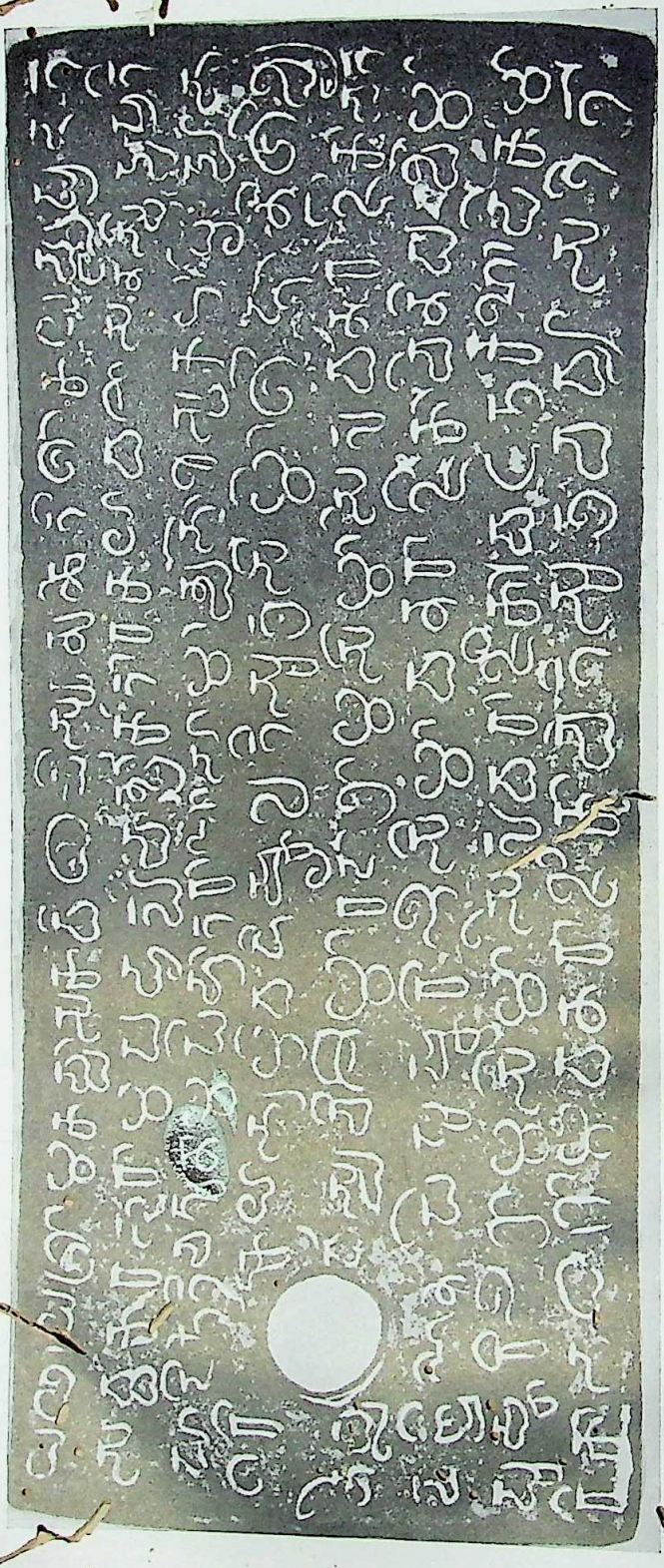

Chicacole Plates of Ganga Devendravarman
Second Plate, First Side

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Chicacole Plates of Ganga Devendravarman
Second Plate: Second Side

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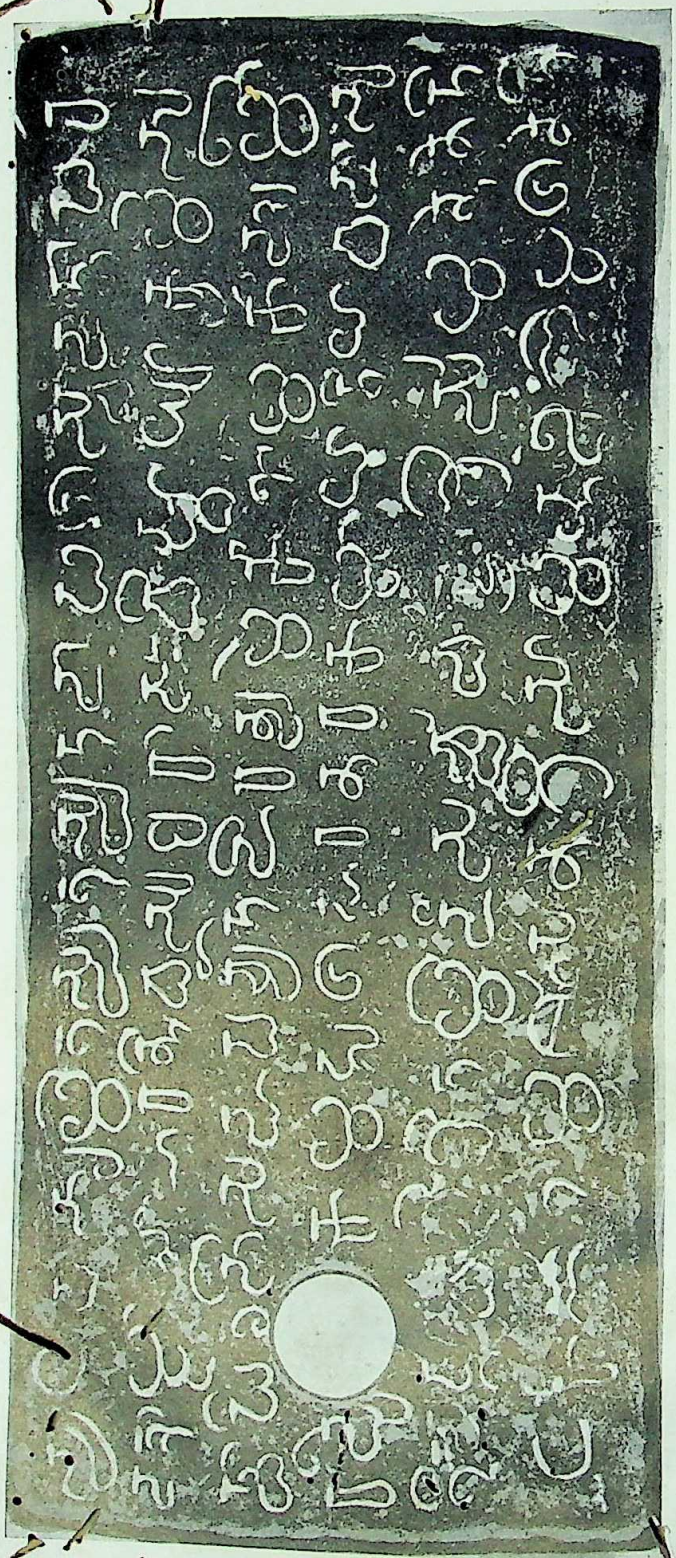

Chicacole Plates of Ganga Devendravarman
Third Plate

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CHITTAGONG UNDER THE PATHAN RULE IN BENGAL

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The present essay aims at a discussion of the history of Chittagong in the period of Pathan rule in Bengal (1539–1576 A.D.). A proper understanding of the period requires a brief survey of the history of Chittagong in the pre-Pathan period.

An emporium of foreign trade and a gateway to Bengal from the south-east, Chittagong had been a bone of contention among the rival kingdoms of Arakan, Tripura and Bengal. A tripartite war seems to have been going on among the three kingdoms over the possession of Chittagong, throughout the medieval period of its history. According to an Arakanese tradition, an Arakanese king occupied Chittagong, in the ninth century and built a pillar in the town. The town is said to have derived its name from a remark made by the Arakanese king, who conquered it.[1] The duration of Arakanese rule over Chittagong is not known. A copper plate inscription, dated 1165 Saka/1243 A.D., found in a village named Nasirabad, indicates the possession of Chittagong by Damodaradeva, a king of East Bengal, in the middle of the thirteenth century.[2]

The first Muslim ruler to conquer Chittagong was Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah of Sonargaon, about 1338 A.D.[3] Shihabuddin Talish says that Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah connected Chittagong with Chandpur on the Meghna by a raised cause-way and built there mosques and tombs. If Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's identification of Ibn Batuta's Sadkawan,[4] is taken to be correct, it will be an additional evidence of the possession of Chittagong by Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, about 1345-46 A.D. From 1338 to 1459 A.D., Chittagong remained under the rule of the kings of Bengal. The Chinese accounts[5] regarding the visits of the Chinese embassies to the court of Gaur, in 1409, 1412-13 and 1415, the Chatigrama

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1 Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers, Chittagong—O'Malley. The Arakanese king remarked 'Tsit-ta-gung', i.e. to make war is improper. According to Buddhist tradition, Chittagong is a corruption of Chaityagram (land of the Chaityas or Buddhist monuments). Another version is that its Hindu name Chattal was changed by the Muslims into Chatigaon (Chati means earthen lamp and gaon means place). Bernouilli, in the 'Description of historique de l' Inde' (1786), derives the name from Arabic Shat (delta) and Ganga, meaning the city at the mouth of the Ganges. O'Malley considers that the name Chatigaon was probably derived from Chaturgrama or four villages.

2 Inscription of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 158–163.

3 Sarkar's 'Studies in Mughal India', p. 122.

4 Ibn Batuta mentioned Sadkawan as the name of the Great Port he visited. History of Bengal, Vol. II (p. 100) has identified Sadwakan with Satgaon in the Hughli. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali (Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal, p. 145) makes Sadkawan identical with Chittagong.

5 Dr. P. C. Bagchi—'Political Relation between Bengal and China' (Visva-Bharati Annals).

'The Chinese missions disembarked at Chati-kiang (Chittagong) where they were received by the officers of the Bengal king. Thence by small boat they came to Sonargaon and from Sonargaon they reached Pandua by overland route.'

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coin of Danujamardandeva, dated 1395/1417 A.D. and the Chatgaon coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah, dated 823 H./1419 A.D.,[1] are evidences of the sway of the Bengal kings over Chittagong in the early years of the fifteenth century. The fact that a dethroned Arakanese king, named Meng-tsaumum, recovered his throne, in 1430 A.D., with the help of the Gaur king (Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah) and recognized his vassalage[2] goes to show the hold of Gaur court on Chittagong about the time. Meng Khri (1434–59), successor of Meng-tsaumum, continued to be a vassal of the king of Gaur. He adopted Muslim title 'Ali Shah' and inscribed the 'Kalima' and the Arabic legend in his coins. The assumption of Muslim titles and the use of Arabic legend in the coins became a tradition with the successors of Meng Khri Ali Shah.[3] But, this does not prove that the subordination of Arakan to Gaur was continued for an indefinite period. Towards the close of his reign, Meng Khri Ali Shah repudiated the vassalage and occupied Ramu.[4] His successor Basaupya Kalima Shah conquered the town of Chittagong, in 1459 A.D.[5]

Arakan's hold on Chittagong seems to have been very short-lived. The inscription of Rasti Khan[6] found in the tomb of Alaul, dated 1473-74 A.D., indicates the recovery of the town by the king of Gaur (Ruknuddin Barbak Shah, 1459–1474 A.D.). The sway of Gaur over Chittagong continued till 1512 A.D., when the town fell into the hands of Dhanyamanikya, king of Tripura.[7] Tripura's authority over Chittagong was brought to a speedy termination by the Arakanese. The Arakanese also lost the town to Alauddin Husain Shah (1493–1519 A.D.) of Bengal, about 1517 A.D. 'The evidence gathered from the writings of the poets Kavindra Parameswar and Srikaran Nandi as well as the local Muslim traditions of Chittagong proves beyond doubt that the Arakanese were driven out of the Chittagong area by Prince Nusrat (son of Husain Shah). The statement of De Barros that when Joao de Silviera landed at Chittagong, in 1517, the port belonged to the king of Bengal and Arakan was a vassal of the Bengal king, may refer to the result of Nusrat's campaigns.'[8] Prince Nusrat commemorated the conquest of Chittagong by renaming it Fathabad, i.e. place of victory.[9] That Chittagong had the name of Fathabad is also known from a poet named Daulat Wazir Bahram, who says:—

নগর ফতেয়াবাদ, দেখিতে পূরয়ে সাধ,
চাটিগ্রাম সুনাম প্রকাশ।
মনোহর মনোরম, অমর নগর সম
শতে শতে অনেক নিবাস॥
কর্ণফুলী নদীতট
শুভপরী অতি দিব্যমান।[10]

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[1] N. K. Bhattasali—Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal, pp. 119–126.

[2] Phayre—History of Burma, p. 76 and Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah—'Arakan', etc., J.A.S.B., 1945.

[3] Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah—Arakan....J.A.S.B., 1945.

[4] Dr. Habibullah—Arakan....J.A.S.B., 1945.
Das Gupta (Bengal in the 16th century, p. 142) identifies Ramu with a village called Ramu, which is in the southern part of the Chittagong district; it is now a police station.

[5] Phayre—History of Burma, p. 171.

[6] Dr. Habibullah—Arakan....J.A.S.B., 1945.

[7] K. P. Sen—Rajmala, Pt. II, p. 22.

[8] Dr. Habibullah—Arakan....J.A.S.B., 1945.

[9] Ahadisul Khawanim (Hamidullah)—Blochmann, J.A.S.B., 1871 and 1872.

[10] A. Karim—Prachin Puthir Bibaran, Pt. I, 1320 B.S.

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A study of the Portuguese accounts reveals the fact that the Husain Shahi dynasty had uninterrupted sway over Chittagong from 1517 to 1538 A.D.[1] The year 1538 A.D. saw a revolution at Gaur. The Pathan Chief Sher Khan captured Gaur (6th April, 1538) and the ousted king Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah, the last king of the Husain Shahi dynasty, died at Kahlgaon. Humayun came to Gaur and occupied it. After a short stay at Gaur (Jannatabad), he moved towards Agra. Sher Khan intercepted Humayun at Chausa and defeated him. The victorious Pathan Chief came to Gaur and reconquered it from Humayun's governor Jahangir Quli, in October, 1539.[2] Sher Shah installed himself as an independent ruler at Gaur. With the vast resources of Bengal at his command, he now prepared to make a bid for the throne of Hindustan.

Sher Shah inaugurated the Pathan rule in Bengal and it continued down to the year 1576 A.D. The history of Chittagong during this period is rather obscure. In the History of Bengal, Vol. II, published by the Dacca University, practically no reference has been made about the fate of Chittagong in this period. In some places, there are vague statements, which amount to an expression of doubt, regarding the hold of the mighty Pathan rulers Sher Shah and Islam Shah on Chittagong.[3] But, the materials prove beyond doubt that Sher Shah and Islam Shah had jurisdiction over the place.

On the evidence of the Portuguese accounts, it can be said that Sher Shah conquered Chittagong. Even before his final occupation of Gaur (Oct., 1539), he sent his generals to occupy the outlying districts of Bengal. When he was invading Gaur in 1538, he sent one 'Nogazil' to occupy Chittagong.[4] Sher Shah was conscious of the strategic importance of Chittagong. Besides, he felt the necessity of preventing the Portuguese from coming to the aid of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah, who was a friend of the Portuguese of Chittagong at the time. The expedition of Nogazil had the desired result. The Portuguese could not come to the help of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah at Gaur and Nogazil easily took possession of Chittagong. The quarrel between Khudabaksh Khan and Amirza Khan, the officers of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah at Chittagong, made the task easy for Nogazil. Due to divided opinion, the Portuguese could not take advantage of the troubled condition of Chittagong. Of course, the Portuguese made an attempt to establish their hold over Chittagong. But, it was too late; Sher Shah's authority over Chittagong had already been established on a firm footing. Hence, Castanheda remarks, 'Through the folly and indiscretion of Sampayo (Portuguese captain), the king of Portugal lost Chittagong which could easily have been taken possession of, considering that Sher Shah was busily engaged on the other side of Bengal.[5] Dr. Qanungo says that after the victory of Chausa, Sher Shah became the *de facto* ruler of the vast territories bounded on the west by the bend of the Ganges from Kanauj to Chunar, on the south by the hills of Jharkhand (Rohtas to Birbhum) and the Bay of Bengal, on the east by the hills of Assam and Chittagong and on the north by the

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1 Campos—History of the Portuguese in Bengal, pp. 30–40.

2 History of Bengal, II, D.U., p. 173.

3 History of Bengal, II, p. 378 says—'A Burmese king of Arakan had wrested the Chatgaon district from the independent Sultans of Bengal in 1459. In Jahangir's reign, the Mughals had recovered the country up to the Feni river....' This statement gives an idea that, after 1459 A.D., the rulers of Bengal had no hold on Chittagong till its conquest by the Mughals.

4 Qanungo—Sher Shah, p. 138 and Campos—History of the Portuguese in Bengal, pp. 36–38.

5 Campos—History of the Portuguese in Bengal, p. 43.

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Himalayas.[1] Dr. Habibullah also has incidentally referred to the occupation of Chittagong by Sher Shah and his hold over it till his death in 1545 A.D.[2]

A Bengali poem named 'Laila-Majnu', written by Daulat Wazir Bahram, speaks of the Sur rule over Chittagong. The poem, at first, makes mention of the conquest of Chittagong in the reign of Husain Shah and then says that, after some generations, Nizam Shah Sur became the ruler of Chittagong.

অনুক্রমে বংশ কত, গঞ্জিলেক এই মত,
গৌড়ের কুদিন হৈল দূর।
চাটিগ্রাম অধিপতি, নানা মত মহাপতি
নৃপতি নেজাম সাহা সুর।[3]

According to Dr. Shahidullah, Daulat Wazir Bahram was a contemporary of Sher Shah and Nizam Shah Sur, mentioned by him, was brother of Sher Shah.[4] It is rather difficult to believe that Sher Shah had appointed his brother merely as a district officer, when he appointed Khizr Khan, a man who was not related to his family or race, as the governor of Bengal. Granted that Nizam Khan Sur was appointed to the government of Chittagong, why should he assume the title of Shah? The title Shah was a privilege enjoyed by the independent rulers and Sher Shah or Islam Shah could not have tolerated the assumption of the 'Shah' title by Nizam Khan Sur. Besides, no mention of Nizam Khan Sur is found in any contemporary Persian history after the capture of Rohtas by Sher Shah, in March, 1538.[5] This might be interpreted in two ways: Nizam Khan Sur had either died after the capture of Rohtas or had played no significant rôle in the subsequent history of his great brother.

There is also another side of the picture. It might be that Sher Shah was alive to the great importance of Chittagong and to the danger from the Portuguese and the Arakanese. To secure the distant south-eastern frontier against the imperialistic Portuguese and the Arakanese, Sher Shah appointed his loyal brother to the government of Chittagong. It is not unlikely that poet Daulat Wazir Bahram had, either through carelessness or in his enthusiasm for the lord of Chittagong, called Nizam Khan Sur as Nizam Shah Sur. The Portuguese accounts have referred to one Nogazil whom Sher Shah sent to occupy Chittagong. Can this Nogazil and Nizam Khan Sur or Nizam be identical? The Portuguese have generally corrupted Muslim names. They have called Sher Khan Sur as Xercansur, Khudabaksh Khan as Cadavascao and Amirza Khan as Amarzacao.[6] They might have corrupted Nizam into Nogazil.

Whatever might be the relation of Nizam Shah Sur with Nizam Khan Sur or with Nogazil, the poem of Daulat Wazir Bahram bears testimony to the fact that Chittagong enjoyed Sur rule after the fall of the Husain Shahi dynasty. That the Sur rule over Chittagong continued throughout the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah is evident from the Portuguese records. De Barros, writing in 1552 A.D., says, 'Chatigaon is the most famous and wealthy city of the kingdom of Bengal, by reason of its port, at which meets the traffic of all that eastern region'.[7] Chittagong had been

[1] Qanungo—Sher Shah, p. 200.
[2] Dr. Habibullah—Arakan....J.A.S.B., 1945.
[3] A. Karim—Prachin Puthir Bibaran, Pt. I, 1320 B.S.
[4] Dr. Shahidullah—Bangla Sahitye Musalman—Mahe Nao, June 1951.
[5] Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi—Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 357.
[6] Campos—Hist. of the Portuguese in Bengal, p. 43.
[7] Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers, Chittagong—O'Malley.

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an integral part of Bengal in the medieval period, though it sometimes passed into the hands of the Arakanese and the kings of Tripura. The records of the foreigners prove this fact. Ralph Fitche, who visited Chittagong, in 1585, says, 'From Chatigaon in Bengala, I came to Bacola'.[1] Whenever foreigners had referred to the kingdom of Bengal, they had generally meant the kingdom or the territory of Bengal which commenced from the borders of Patna (Bihar) and Orissa. Barbosa, a Portuguese who visited Bengal about 1514 A.D., remarks, 'On the other side of this river (the Ganges) commences the kingdom of Bengala'.[2] This undoubtedly refers to the territory whose seat of power was at Gaur. That De Barros, by his kingdom of Bengal, has also meant the same territory with its seat of power at Gaur, is clear from his statement on another occasion. He says that when Joao de Silviera landed at Chittagong, in 1517, the port belonged to the 'King of Bengal and Arakan was a vassal of the Bengal king'.[3] The Chinese records also, in referring to the kingdom of Bengal, mean the same territory with Gaur or Pandua as Capital.[4]

It is evident, therefore, that Chittagong, in 1552 A.D., was a part of the Gaur kingdom and was under the rule of the Sur Emperor Islam Shah.

An Arakanese tradition claims that Chittagong was conquered by the Arakanese king Meng Beng (1531–53 A.D.). He minted a coin at Chittagong. The coin bears his name and title of 'Sultan'[5]. Perhaps the coin was issued to commemorate his conquest of Chittagong. But, due to the absence of date in the coin, it is difficult to say when the coin was minted. The Sur Pathans retained their hold on Chittagong up to 1552 A.D. The conquest of Chittagong by Meng Beng might have taken place in 1553 A.D. This is borne out by the following facts. Islam Shah Sur died in 1553 A.D.[6] and his death was an occasion for succession disputes among the Pathans. The boy Sultan Firoz was killed, on the third day of his accession, by his maternal uncle Mubariz Khan, who ascended the throne under the title Sultan Muhammad Adil. This usurpation bred discontent and also ambitions in the Pathan nobility. Several pretenders arose and they came to contest the sovereignty of Hindustan with Sultan Muhammad Adil. Muhammad Khan Sur, the governor of Bengal, did not sit idle. He assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah Ghazi and declared himself as an independent sovereign of Bengal and prepared to contest the throne with Sultan Muhammad Adil. With his eyes riveted to the north, Muhammad Khan Sur might have neglected the defence of Chittagong. Meng Beng might have seized the opportunity and conquered Chittagong towards the close of 1553 A.D.

Relying on an Arakanese tradition, Phayre maintains that Meng Beng (1531–53 A.D.) conquered Chittagong from the possession of Tripura.[7] But, this is not borne out by facts. It has been proved that the

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1 Cited in Das Gupta's 'Bengal in the Sixteenth century', p. 144.

2 Ibid., p. 113.

3 Campos—History of the Portuguese in Bengal, p. 28; Dr. Habibullah—Arakan ....J.A.S.B., 1945.

4 Mahuan's account cited in N. K. Bhattasali's 'Coins and Chronology of the Independent Sultans of Bengal', p. 169; Mahuan says, 'The kingdom of Pang-ko-la (Bengala) is reached by ship....the vessel arrives first at Cheh-ti-gan (Chittagong)'.

5 Phayre—History of Burma, p. 72.

6 As to the date of the death of Islam Shah, there are different views. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali (Bengal Past and Present, July-Dec., 1929) dates 1552 and Majumdar (Advanced History of India) dates Nov., 1554; N. B. Ray (Successors of Sher Shah) has placed the death of Islam Shah on 30th October, 1553. History of Bengal II, D.U. agrees with N. B. Ray.

7 Phayre—History of Burma, p. 72.

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Sur rulers had hold on Chittagong up to 1552 A.D. and Meng Bang conquered the town after the death of Islam Shah, i.e. towards the close of the year 1553 A.D. Rajmala[1] and the Arakan coin of Muhammad Shah Ghazi[2] (Muhammad Khan Sur) speak of the conquest of Chittagong by the king of Gaur, in 1554 A.D. from Bijoymanikya (1540–71 A.D.); the king of Tripura. From this, it is clear that Bijoymanikya captured the town from the Arakanese, in the early part of 1554 A.D.

Bijoymanikya enjoyed a few months' authority over the great port. Rajmala records its capture by the Pathans of Gaur. The mutiny of the Pathan horsemen[3] in the army of Bijoymanikya and its ruthless suppression[4] by him enraged the Pathan ruler of Gaur. He sent an army under Mamarak Khan (Mubarak Khan) to Chittagong.

এই সব বৃত্তান্ত তাতে পাঠান শুনিল।
ক্রোধে গৌড়েশ্বর বহু সৈন্য দিল রণে ॥
* * * *
মমারক খাঁ সৈন্য সমে চাটিগ্রামে গেল।
ভঙ্গ দিল ত্রিপুর সৈন্য মগলে জিনিল ॥[5]

The Pathan general Mubarak Khan captured Chittagong from the forces of Bijoymanikya.[6] Who was this ruler of Gaur who sent Mubarak Khan? There are reasons to believe that the Gaur ruler referred to in Rajmala was Muhammad Khan Sur. Muhammad Khan raided Arracan[7] (Arakan). Raid on Arakan is impossible without the conquest and occupation of Chittagong area.

A coin of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah Ghazi (Muhammad Khan Sur), dated 962 H./1554 A.D., bears Arakan as mint place.[8] The coin was perhaps issued to commemorate the conquest of Arakan by Muhammad Khan Sur. This coin testifies to the conquest of Chittagong by Muhammad Khan Sur, in 1554 A.D. That Muhammad Khan Sur conquered the place from Bijoymanikya, in 1554, is also proved by the subsequent events.

After the occupation of Chittagong by the Pathan general Mubarak Khan, Bijoymanikya sent fresh forces to Chittagong. The Tripura forces fought for eight months with the Pathans, but they failed to recover the town.

আটমাস যুদ্ধ করে পাঠানের সনে।
লইতে না পারে গড় চাটিগ্রাম স্থানে ॥[9]

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[1] K. P. Sen—Rajmala, Part II, p. 44.

[2] Lanepoole—Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. 56. The Arakan coin speaks of the conquest of Arakan by Muhammad Shah Ghazi (Muhammad Khan Sur). The conquest of Arakan must have been preceded by the occupation of Chittagong.

[3] Rajmala (K. P. Sen), Pt. II, p. 46:—

তথা চাটিগ্রামে সেই পাঠান বর্ব্বর।
রাজাকে মারিতে যুক্তি করেন অপর ॥

[4] Ibid. The Pathan soldiers were taken prisoners and sacrificed before the Fourteen gods.

[5] and [6] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[7] History of Bengal, II, D.U., p. 179.

[8] S. Lanepoole—Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. 56.
Dr. Habibullah (J.A.S.B., 1945) says that the name of mint-town has been incorrectly read; the correct reading would be Rikab. But, Rikab was not an important town and had never been a mint-town. The reading 'Arakan' seems correct.

[9] K. P. Sen—Rajmala, II, p. 47.

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Bijoymanikya sent his veteran commander Kala Nazir; Kala Nazir fell in a fight with the Pathans. At night-fall, the victorious Pathans returned to the fort of Chittagong. The Tripura forces dug holes beneath the walls of the fort and made a surprise attack on the Musalmans. The Pathans fell fighting and Mubarak Khan was taken prisoner to Rangamati, capital of Tripura. Mubarak Khan was slaughtered as sacrifice before the Fourteen Gods. Chittagong passed into the hands of Bijoymanikya.[1]

'Tripur Bansabali Puthi'[2] and Rajmala record a daring raid of Bijoymanikya in Eastern Bengal after the recovery of Chittagong from the Pathans. Bijoymanikya came up to the Brahmaputra, the Lakhya and the Padma. He bathed in these rivers and minted coins to commemorate the events.[3] A Lakhya coin, dated 1481 Saka/1559 A.D., has been discovered. The legend on the obverse of the coin records: শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্যায়ী বিজয়মাণিক্য দেব = The doubly illustrious Bijoymanikya who bathed in the Lakhya.[4]

The daring Eastern Bengal raid of Bijoymanikya, in 1559 A.D., was an event subsequent to his recovery of Chittagong. On the evidence of the 'Arakan coin' of Muhammad Khan Sur, it can be said that Muhammad Khan Sur had hold on Chittagong, in 1554 A.D. Hence, the recovery of Chittagong by Bijoymanikya must have taken place sometime in the period from 1554 to 1559 A.D.[5] This period saw the most disastrous internecine wars among the Pathans and their consequent weakness and loss of sovereignty and territory. Humayan had recovered the throne of Hindustan, in 1555 A.D. The internecine wars had also disastrous results on the kingdom of Bengal. Ambitious Muhammad Khan Sur had been defeated and slain at Chhapar-ghat, in December 1555, by Himu, Muhammad Adil's general. Bahadur Shah (Muhammad Khan Sur's son) had to recover the throne by fighting Adil's governor Shahbaz Khan (1556).[6] He had to avenge his father's death. He fought Adil at Surajgarh and defeated and killed him (April, 1557).[7] Bahadur Shah had, then, to consolidate his position on the throne of Bengal. These troubles of the rulers of Gaur helped Bijoymanikya to recover Chittagong and encouraged him to undertake a daring raid in Eastern Bengal.

In 1554 A.D., Chittagong was in the hands of Muhammad Khan Sur. The Tripura forces fought for eight months to capture the town, but failed. Kala Nazir, who was afterwards sent by Bijoymanikya, fell in a fight with the Pathans. Then the Tripura forces planned a night attack by digging holes beneath the walls of the fort and, by this, they succeeded in capturing the town. From the above discussions, it may be concluded that the Tripura forces captured the town, in 1556 A.D. It was a time when Muhammad Khan Sur had died and his son Bahadur Shah had been fighting with Shahbaz Khan to recover the throne of Gaur. Hence, no reinforcement came to the Pathan army which had been fighting against the fresh streams of Tripura forces.

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1 Ibid., and Rev. Long—Analysis of Rajmala, J.A.S.B., 1850.

2 Cited in K. P. Sen's Rajmala, II, p. 54.

3 K. P. Sen—Rajmala, II, p. 54; Rev. Long—Analysis of Rajmala, J.A.S.B., 1850.

4 N. K. B.—Bengal Chiefs' Struggle, B.P.P., July-Dec., 1929.

5 N. K. Bhattasali (Bengal Chiefs' struggle—B.P.P., July-Dec., 1929) maintains that Bijoymanikya's conquest of Chittagong and his daring Eastern Bengal raid had taken place in the period from 1543 to 1559 A.D. when the authority of the Pathan rulers over Bengal was weak. But, as a matter of fact, the Pathan authority over Bengal was not weak in the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah (1539–1553 A.D.). The authority became weak after the death of Islam Shah.

6 History of Bengal, II, D.U., p. 179.

7 Ibid., pp. 179-80.

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The Sur rulers of Gaur had lost Chittagong in 1556 A.D. and, for some years, the place enjoyed the rule of Bijoymanikya. Bijoymanikya was a powerful ruler. Abul Fazl says, 'He has a force of two hundred thousand footmen and a thousand elephants'.[1] It seems that Bijoymanikya maintained his hold on Chittagong till his death, in 1571 A.D.[2] His successor Anantamanikya (1571-72)[3] was assassinated by the commander of his army Udaymanikya (1572–74),[4] who usurped the throne. Udaymanikya shifted the capital from Rangamati to Udaypur. The death of the powerful king Bijoymanikya and the usurpation of the throne by a person, who did not belong to the royal family, encouraged the king of Gaur to send an army to conquer Chittagong. Who was this king of Gaur

গৌড়েশ্বর শুনে বিজয়মাণিক্য মরণ।
চৌদ্দ শ চৌরানব্বই শকে উদয় রাজন॥
রাজবংশ নাহি কেহ অন্য হৈল রাজা।
চাটিগ্রামে পাঠাইল সৈন্য মহাতেজা॥ [5]

who sent the expedition to Chittagong? Bijoymanikya died of smallpox.[6] Generally smallpox breaks out in March and April. It might be that Bijoymanikya died in April, 1571. His son Anantamanikya reigned for a year and a half.[7] Hence, Udaymanikya might have come to the throne about October, 1572 and this was the time when Sulaiman Karrani had also died.[8] Sulaiman Karrani's successor Bayazid Karrani had a very short and disturbed reign and, as such, he could not have sent any expedition to a distant place like Chittagong. Daud Karrani (1573–76),[9] who was very ambitious, might have sent the Chittagong expedition and perhaps it was sent in the early part of 1573 A.D.[10]

As the Pathan troops were marching to Chittagong, a Tripura army of 52,000 soldiers and 3,000 generals advanced to intercept them. Ignoring the unfavourable omens of the flapping of the vulture's wings, falling of fire from the sky and the barking of foxes, the Tripura army attacked the Pathans at Khandal.[11] The Tripura troops were routed with a loss of 40,000 soldiers; the Pathans lost only 4,000 men.[12] The victorious Pathans entered Chittagong. The king of Gaur (Daud Karrani) became very glad at the news of the victory and sent a fresh army under Piroj (Firoz) Khan Anni and Jamal Khan Panni. They were helped by the 'Twelve Chiefs of Bengal'.

রণে ভঙ্গ ত্রিপুর সেনা রাজ্যে ত তৎপর।
চট্টলের গড়ে গেল পাঠান সত্বর॥
গৌড়েশ্বর শুনিলেক এসব বৃত্তান্ত।
হরষিতে বহু সৈন্য পাঠায় সামন্ত॥

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[1] Jarret—Ain, Vol. II, p. 130 (1949 Ed.)
[2] N. K. B.—Bengal Chiefs' struggle (B.P.P., July-Dec., 1929) quoted from the preface of Blochmann in Ain, Vol. I.
[3] and [4] Ibid.
[5] K. P. Sen—Rajmala, II, p. 69.
[6] and [7] Rev. Long—Analysis of Rajmala, J.A.S.B., 1850.
[8] History of Bengal, II, D.U., p. 185.
[9] Jarret—Ain, II, p. 27.
[10] Rajmala says that the king of Gaur sent an army to conquer Chittagong on hearing the news of Udaymanikya's usurpation of the throne of Tripura.
[11] Kandal is a place on the road to Chittagong; formerly it was in the district of Tippera and now it forms part of the district of Noakhali (K. P. Sen's identification—Rajmala, II).
[12] Analysis of Rajmala (Rev. Long, J.A.S.B., 1850) and K. P. Sen—Rajmala, II, p. 71.

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পিরোজ খাঁ আন্নি আর জামাল খাঁ পন্নি।
চট্টলে পাঠাইল গৌড়ে তারা যোদ্ধা জানি॥
দ্বাদশ বাঙ্গালা দিল তাঁহার সহিত।
মেহারকুল গড়ে যুদ্ধ হয়ে বিপরীত॥ [1]

The Pathans under the command of Firoz Khan Anni and Jamal Khan Panni invaded Tripura and defeated the army of Udaymanikya at Meharkul.[2] Udaymanikya fought with the Pathans for five years.[3] The war proved a great calamity to Tripura; it brought starvation and epidemics in the country.[4]

On the evidence of Rajmala, it may be said that Daud Karrani recovered, in 1573, the town of Chittagong, which had been lost by the Sur Pathans, about 1556 A.D. Rajmala is a fairly contemporary work of the Pathan period in Bengal.[5] It is a family history of the kings of Tripura. Since, it admits the defeat of a king of that family and the loss of Chittagong, there is no reason to disbelieve it. The conquest of Chittagong by Daud Karrani may be accepted as a fact.

There are indirect evidences which go to prove that the Karrani rulers might have had a hold on Chittagong. In the Rent Roll introduced by Todar Mal, in 1582 A.D., one Mahal of Sarkar Chittagong has been mentioned as Sulaimanpur.[6] Names generally reflect the ideas of the time and the places are named after the names of important persons. Sarkars and Mahals have been generally named Husainshahi, Husainpur, Nusrat Shahi, Mahmud Shahi, Sher Shahi, Sulaimanabad, Sulaimanshahi, Sulaimanpur, Daud Shahi, etc. after the names of the rulers and princes.

A Mahal or Pargana of Sarkar Chittagong could not have been named Sulaimanpur, unless Sulaiman or anyone of his dynasty had ruled over the place. The name could not have been introduced at the time of the Sur rule, when Sulaiman Karrani was a governor in south Bihar and was not connected with Bengal.

The name could not have been introduced by the kings of Arakan or Tripura. Of course, the Buddhist kings of Arakan adopted Muslim names. But, we do not know of any Arakanese king, flourishing before 1582, who adopted Sulaiman as his title.

Again, the Mahal Sulaimanpur must have existed in Sarkar Chittagong before Todar Mal's entry in the Rent Roll of 1582 A.D., with its estimated revenue of 11,424,310 dams.[7] The Mughals could not conquer Chittagong before 1666 A.D. Shihabuddin Talish admits that 'when Bengal was annexed to the Mughal Empire, Chatgaon was entered in the papers of Bengal as one of the defaulting and unsettled districts. When the Mutasaddis did not really wish to pay any man whose salary was due, they gave him an assignment on the revenue of Chatgaon'.[8] Chittagong was not conquered at the time of Akbar; still it is entered as a Sarkar with all its Mahals in the Rent Roll. From this, it may be

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1 See footnote 12, p. 28.
2 Meharkul is situated near Comilla.
3 K. P. Sen—Rajmala, II, p. 71, "পঞ্চ বৎসর যুদ্ধ ছিল জামাল পন্নি সনে।"
4 Ibid, p. 72, and Rev. Long—Analysis of Rajmala, J.A.S.B., 1850.
5 Rajmala, II, is said to have been written at the time of Amarmanikya (1577–86). K. P. Sen—Rajmala, II, pp. 4–5.
6 Ain, Vol. II, p. 152—Jarret, 1949 Edition.
7 Ibid.
8 Eastern Bengal Gazetteers, Chittagong—O'Malley; and Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, p. 122.

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concluded that Abul Fazl had copied them from the records of the previous rulers, who had authority over Chittagong. The existence of the name of Sulaimanpur Mahal in the records, from which Abul Fazl copied, suggests that the records belonged to the Karrani Sultans, who preceded the Mughals, in Bengal. It is likely that Daud Karrani, after the conquest of Chittagong, had named a Mahal of his newly-acquired territory after the name of his father.

Chittagong might have come into the possession of Daud Karrani about 1573 A.D. Udaymanikya fought with Jamal Khan Panni, general of Daud, for five years and failed to recover Chittagong. This indicates that Daud Karrani retained his hold on Chittagong till his death, in 1576 A.D. It is difficult to say what became of the great port after the death of Daud Karrani. It might be that independent Pathan chiefs ruled for some time until it fell into the hands of the Arakanese. Ralph Fitche, who visited Chittagong, in 1585, wrote, 'From Satagam, I travelled to the country of Tippera or Porto Grande (Chittagong), with whom the Mogores or Mogen have almost continual warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger than the kingdom of Tippera, so that Chatigaon or Porto Grande is often times under the king of Recon'.[1] Rajmala also records the conquest of Chittagong by Amarmanikya from the Arakanese.[2] Arakanese accounts claim that the Arakanese king Meng Phalaung Sikardar conquered it from Tripura, in 1586.[3] From 1586 A.D., Chittagong remained under the Arakanese till its conquest by the Mughal general Shayesta Khan, in 1666.[4]

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[1] Cited in Dasgupta's 'Bengal in the 16th century', p. 141.
[2] N.K.B.—B.P.P., July-Dec., 1929.
[3] Ibid.
[4] History of Bengal, II, p. 377 (D.U. Publication).

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THE *MARĀTIBU'L-IJMĀ'* OF IBN ḤAZM

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Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064 A.D.) the great Spanish scholar is one of the most prolific writers of Islam.[1] But it is really sad that due to religious orthodoxy and the fanatical zeal[2] of his countrymen a large number of his works were either destroyed or fell into complete oblivion.[3] Among those that escaped the ravaging hands of time and the narrow-minded hostility of his contemporaries only a few have seen the light of day,[4] while others, mostly in rare manuscripts, grace the unfrequented and the most neglected corners of various libraries of the world, where they sadly fail to attract the attention of a casual visitor. The *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'* (مراتب الاجماع) a small treatise on Islamic laws, rituals and beliefs belongs to this latter group. It exists in two considerably old manuscripts, the one carefully preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore,[5] and the other,

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[1] He is said to have written a camel-load of books on various subjects (Yāqūt, *Irshādu'l-Arīb*, Vol. V, p. 93). His son alone possessed some 400 works containing 80,000 folios, and these were all autograph copies (adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkiratu'l-Ḥuffāz*, ed. Hyderabad, Vol. III, p. 323). Brockelmann's list which is by no means exhaustive includes thirty-six books which have survived to this day in some or other form (*Gesch. der Arab. Litt.*, Supp., Vol. I, pp. 694–97).

[2] A typical example of this fanaticism is as-Subkī's following outburst against Ibn Ḥazm:

وهذا ابن حزم رجل جرى بلسانه، متسرع الى النقل بمجرد ظنه، هاجم على ائمة الاسلام بالفاظه، وكتابه هذا الملل و النحل من شر الكتب، و ما برح المحققون من اصحابنا ينهون عن النظر فيه لما فيه من الازراء باهل السنة، و نسبة الاقوال السخيفة اليهم من غير تثبت عنهم و التشنيع عليهم بما لم يقولوه.

(See *Ṭabaqātu'sh-Shāfi'iyā al-Kubrā*, Vol. I, p. 43.)

[3] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Vol. V, pp. 93 and 95; adh-Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 327.

[4] Of these the following are more well known:

(1) الفصل فى الملل و الاهواء و النحل—Printed in Cairo in 5 volumes in A.H. 1317–21.

(2) طوق الحمامة فى الالفة و الالّاف—Ed. D. K. Petrof, Leiden, 1914. Tr. A. R. Nykl, the *Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers* (Paris, 1931). Also printed at Damascus.

(3) نقط العروس فى تواريخ الخلفاء—Ed. with Spanish tr. by C. F. Seybold, Granada, 1911.

(4) رسالة فى فضل الاندلس—Ed. Bulaq.

(5) مسائل اصول الفقه—Ed. by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl aṣ-Ṣan'ānī and al-Qāsimī, Damascus, A.H. 1331 and Cairo, 1343.

(6) كتاب الناسخ و المنسوخ—Printed at the Khairīyā Press, A.H. 1308 also on the margin of the *Tafsīru'l-Jalālain*, Cairo, A.H. 1297 and 1328.

(7) كتاب الاخلاق و السير فى مداواة النفوس—Ed. Maḥmaṣnī, Cairo, 1905 A.D.

[5] Cat. No. 1892.

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nearly 300 years older, but hitherto unknown, I have recently obtained from a Bombay bookseller. My first acquaintance with the *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'*, sometime in 1947, was a mere accident, as I noticed the Bankipore MS. at the Oriental Library while working on the *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb*,[1] another very important book of Ibn Ḥazm that has only recently been published in Egypt.[2]

That the *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'* was actually compiled by Ibn Ḥazm may be doubted by many; because some of his early biographers like Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183 A.D.), Ibnu'l-Qifṭī (d. 1248 A.D.), 'Abdu'l Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. after 1224 A.D.), al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1367 A.D.) and Ibnu'l-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1679 A.D.), are curiously silent about it, and the lists of Ibn Ḥazm's work furnished by some of them do not include it. What is still more tantalising is that in the main body of the book no reference has been made either to the author or to the title.[3] But there are other considerations—more convincing and more persuasive—which sufficiently, if not conclusively, prove the genuineness of its authorship. Yāqūt (d. 1229 A.D.), Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282 A.D.), adh-Dhahabī (d. 1348 A.D.) and al-Maqqarī (d. 1632 A.D.), all these eminent writers have recorded that Ibn Ḥazm was the author of a book dealing with those problems of theology and jurisprudence which had unanimously been agreed upon by the learned divines.[4] Yāqūt, adh-Dhahabī and al-Maqqarī further mention the title as *Kitābu Muntaqa'l-Ijmā'* (كتاب منتقى الاجماع),[5] which totally differs from that given by Ḥājī Khalīfā (d. 1658 A.D.), who, so far my investigation is concerned, is the only authority to name the book as the *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'* (مراتب الاجماع).[6] Moreover, the brief description of the subject-matter of the book by Yāqūt, Ibn Khallikān, al-Maqqarī and Ḥājī Khalīfā exactly corresponds with the contents of the present work.[7] An internal evidence, though not very strong, may also be added here. The author mentions in the Introduction Yūnus b. 'Abdullāh al-Qāḍī as one who transmitted certain statement to him,[8] and this very name has

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[1] See my article 'Ibn Ḥazm and his *Jamharatu'l-Ansāb*' in J.R.A.S., Bengal, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1947, pp. 7–18.

[2] Ed. by Levy-Provencal.

[3] In the Bombay MS. Ibn Ḥazm's name occurs in two places in the body of the book. But it is obviously a late interpolation.

[4] *Irshād.*, Vol. V, p. 94; *Wafayātu'l-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 459, Vol. I, p. 38; *Tadh*, Vol. III, p. 327; *Nafḥu't-Ṭīb*, ed. Dozy, Vol. I, p. 359.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, Vol. V, pp. 485-86.

[7] و كتاب منتقى الاجماع و بيانه من جملة ما لا يعرف فيه اختلاف.
(*Irshād*, Vol. V, p. 94).
و كتاب فى الاجماع و مسائله على ابواب الفقه.
(*Wafayāt*, Vol. I, p. 38).
و كتاب منتقى الاجماع و بيانه من جملة ما لا يعرف فيه اختلاف.
(*Nafḥ*, Vol. I, p. 359).
مراتب الاجماع فى العبادات و الاعتقادات لابى محمد احمد بن سعد (؟) بن حزم الاندلسى.
(*Kashf.*, Vol. V, pp. 485-86).

[8] Bombay MS., fol. 1^b; Patna MS., fol. 1^b, but on the margin of this MS. 'Yūnus' has been corrected as 'Yūsuf', and Yūsuf b. 'Abdullāh al-Qāḍī is a teacher of Ibn Ḥazm (adh-Dhahabī, *Tadh.*, Vol. III, p. 322).

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been cited in the *Ṭawqu'l-Ḥamāmā* in the same capacity.[1] It is perhaps on the basis of these evidences that Brockelmann and the Cataloguer of the Bankipore Library did not hesitate to ascribe its authorship to Ibn Ḥazm,[2] and the present writer also, under the present state of our knowledge, feels very much inclined to share their view.

The *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'* is one of those minor treatises of Ibn Ḥazm which have been completely overshadowed by his more original and more elaborate works specially the *Kitābu'l-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwā' wa'n-Niḥal.* It begins with the usual but brief doxology of the Muslim writers, which is closely followed by a preliminary discourse on *Ijmā'* (the consensus of opinion)—one of the four great foundations (*uṣūl*) of Islamic law according to Muslim legists.[3] The author, a great exponent of the Ẓāhirite school[4] in his later days, has discussed in it the significance, various classifications, function and the true nature of the canon from the purely orthodox point of view,[5] and therefore, the composition of the book must necessarily belong to the period when he still professed Shāfi'āite views. As the importance of the work lies greatly in this section, and as no part of it is so far accessible in print[6] I reproduce this portion of the text, after collating the two manuscripts, at the end of this article. The author next takes up various topics connected with Law, Jurisprudence and Theology arranging them after the fashion usually adopted by writers on *fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence. Dealing with each topic he first mentions those issues which had, at any time, received general agreement, and then he relates those about which there existed any controversy, in many cases giving the names of the controversialists too. The following table of contents will give some idea of the various problems touched therein:—

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[1] Damascus edition, p. 80.

[2] *Gesch. der Arab. Litt.*, Supp. Vol. I, p. 695; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MS. in the Oriental Library, Bankipore*, Vol. XIX, pt. II, pp. 125-26.

[3] The four canonical sources in order of their respective merit are the *Qur'ān* (القرآن), the Prophet's sayings and practices (السنة), Agreement of those competent to judge (الاجماع) and Analogical reasoning (القياس). See for details D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, pp. 101–9 and 209; Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 1945, pp. 144–52.

[4] The Ẓāhirite school founded by Dā'ūd b. 'Alī aẓ-Ẓāhirī (d. 883 A.D.) stood for the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and the Tradition strictly according to the letters. It vehemently repudiated any other source of law beside the *Qur'ān*, the Tradition and the Agreement in the restricted sense of the agreement of the Prophet's companions alone. Ibn Ḥazm the greatest thinker of this school cast a shadow of doubt on *Ijmā'* even in this restricted sense. He advocated this view everywhere in his writings and also devoted one treatise entitled ابطال القياس و الرای و الاستحسان و التقليد و التاويل (still unpublished) on this subject to defend his position.

[5] Cf. his opinion about the validity of *Ijmā'* :

و قوم قالوا اجماع كل عصر اجماع صحيح اذا لم يتقدم قبله فی تلك المسألة خلاف و هذا هو الصحيح.

(Bombay MS., fol. 2a , Patna MS., fol. 2a).

[6] Brockelmann has mentioned that the book was printed on the margin of one of Ibn Taymia's works (Vol. I, pp. 505-6). But in spite of my best efforts I could not trace it.

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	Chapter	Folio Bombay MS.	Folio Patna MS.
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XXXIX.	Imamate and waging war against apostates (الامامة و حرب اهل الردة)	24b–25b	30a–31a
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XLIX.	Agreement on beliefs (الاجماع فى الاعتقادات) ..	33a–34a	40b–42a

The concluding chapter 'Agreement on Beliefs' to which sufficient space has been devoted, deals with those articles of faith which are the 'fundamentals' of Islamic creed by unanimous agreement, and without which a Muslim ceases to be Muslim. The author at the same time does not overlook those points which were disputed by one or other school.

The extant manuscripts of the *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'* are two in number:

1. The MS. that I secured from Bombay in the beginning of last year is not only older but generally speaking, much more correct than the other. It consists of 34 leaves in quarto, each leaf having 33 closely written lines. The handwriting represents the common type of Western Arabic *Naskh* which alludes to its probable Spanish origin. The diacritical points are frequently omitted, and the *hamzā* (ء) has either been converted into *yā* (ى), or has altogether been dropped. Unfortunately the copyist did not care to give his name but he has recorded the date of transcription as 867 A.H. (See Plate II). One of the few notes (some of them bearing names and signatures) by former owners on the title-page indicates that the MS. formed one of the three treatises bound in a single collection.[2] Some of the pages both in the beginning and at the end are moth-eaten and slightly damaged but the manuscript is complete. The first page bears the title and full name of the author, and also the list of contents. (See Plate I.)

2. The Bankipore codex, so far stated to be the unique manuscript of the *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'*,[3] contains 42 folios (lines 23, size $11\frac{1}{2}\times7$; $9\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{2}$)

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[1] المراد ههنا سير النبى عليه السلام فى مغازيه

[2] The other two treatises (1) كتاب الاجماع على مذاهب الفقه الاربعة للوزير ابن هبيرة الحنبلى (المتوفى سنة ٥٦٠)
and (2) ادب القاضى للامام بن القاص الشافعى (المتوفى سنة ٣٣٥)
are missing.

[3] Bankipore Catalogue, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 125.

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written in *Naskh*, and is full of flagrant copying mistakes. The date of transcription is given as 1059 A.H.[1] and the name of the scribe as 'Alī b. Muḥammad. The name of the author and the title of the book have not been mentioned anywhere in the main body of the book. They are provided by the title-page alone which bears the following expressions:—

كتاب مراتب الاجماع لابن حزم الظاهرى

(The Book of *Marātibu'l-Ijmā'* by Ibn Ḥazm the Ẓāhirite).

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1 In the Bankipore Catalogue the date is wrongly given as A.H. 1057 (see p. 127) though the colophon is quite clear on this point:

و كان الفراغ له نسخاً يوم السبت فى شهر رجب الاصب احد شهور سنة تسعة و خمسين و الف .....

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بحث الاجماع[1] من كتاب مراتب الاجماع لابن حزم الظاهرى

[قد نسخ عن نسختين، نسخةٍ لى من بمبای، و نسخةٍ بخزانة بانكى فور[2]]

[ص ا ب نسختى بمبای و بانكى فور] /اما بعد فان الاجماع قاعدة من قواعد الملة الحنيفية يُرجع اليه، و يُفزع نحوه، و يُكفّر من خالفه، اذا قامت عليه الحجة بانه اجماع. ثنا يونس[3] بن عبد الله القاضى ثنا يحيى بن مالك بن عائذ[4] ثنا هشام[5] بن محمد بن ابى حنيفة ثنا ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد الطحاوى[6] ثنا احمد بن ابى عمران[7] ثنا اسحٰق بن اسرائيل[8] المحاربى عن مسعر ابن كدام عن عمرو بن مرة قال: عليكم بالدين فالزموه فمن اراد ان يعلم ما هو فلينظر الى ما اجمع عليه المختلفون. و انا املنا بعون الله عز و جل لنا[9] ان نجمع المسائل التى صحّ فيها الاجماع، و نُفردها من سائر المسائل التى وقع فيها الخلاف بين العلماء. فان الشىء اذا ضُم الى شكله و قُرن بنظيره سهل حفظُه، و امكن طلبُه، و قَرُب متناوُلُه، و وضح خطأُ من خالف الحق فيه، و لم يُتقن[10] المختصمون فى البحث عن

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(١) الاجماع اتفاق المجتهدين من امة محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم فى عصر على حكم شرعى. (٢) الرقم ١٨٩٢

(٣) كذا فى الاصلين، و على هامش نسخة بانكى فور: يوسف، و لم نهتد الى ما اراد ابن حزم ههنا فيوسف بن عبد الله القاضى كان من اساتذته (تذكرة الحفاظ للذهبى، جزء ٣ ص ٣٢٢) و يونس بن عبد الله القاضى ايضا رجل قد روى ابن حزم حديثاً عنه فى طوق الحمامة (ص ٨٠، طبعة دمشق).

(٤) نسخة بمبای: عامد. (٥) نسخة بانكى فور: ابن هشام.

(٦) هو ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد بن سلامة الطحاوى، احد اصحاب ابى حنيفة بمصر. مات سنة ٣٢١. راجع طبقات الفقهاء لابى اسحاق الشيرازى المتوفى سنة ٤٧٦، ص ١٢٠.

(٧) هو ابو جعفر احمد بن ابى عمران، كان شيخ اصحاب ابى حنيفة بمصر فى وقته، و له كتاب الحجيج، و من تلامذته ابو جعفر الطحاوى. راجع طبقات الفقهاء، ص ١١٨.

(٨) فى الاصلين: اسرايل بحذف الهمزة، و كذلك و جدنا الهمزة فى الاصلين اما حذفت او قلبت بالياء فى اكثر المواضع.

(٩) محذوف فى نسخة بانكى فور. (١٠) نسخة بمبای: لم يتعين.

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مكانه عند تنازعهم فيه. و رجونا بذلك جزيل الاجر من الله عز و جل، فان المنفعة لجمع [1] هذه المسائل على حدة جليلةٌ جداً.

و وجدنا الاجماع يقتسم طرفى الاقوال فى الاغلب و الاكثر من المسائل، و بين هذين الطرفين وسائط [2] فيها كثُر التنازُع، و فى بحرها سَبَح المختلفون. فاحد الطرفين هو ما اتفق جميعُ العلماء على وجوبه، او على تحريمه، او على انه مباح لا حرام و لا واجب، فسمّينا هذا القسم الاجماع اللّازم. و الطرف الثانى هو ما اتفق جميعُ العلماء على انه مَن فَعَلَه او اِجتنبه فقد ادّى [3] ما عليه من فعلٍ او اجتنابٍ [4]، او لم يأثم. فسمّينا هذا القسم الاجماع الجازى [5] عبارةً اشتققناها لكل صِنف منها من صفته الخاصة به ليقرب بها التفاهُم بين المعلم و المتعلم او [6] المتناظرين على سبيل طلب الحقيقة ان شاء الله [عز و جل] [7]، و ما توفيقنا الا بالله تعالى.

و بين هذين الطرفين اشياء، قال بعض العلماء هى حرام، و قال آخرون منهم ليست حراما لكنّها حلال، و قال قوم هى واجبة، و قال آخرون منهم ليست بواجبة، لكنها مباحة، او كرِهها بعضهم و استحبها بعضهم، الا مسائل من الاحكام و العبادات لا سبيل الى وجود قسمى الاجماع الجازى و لا الواجب فيها، لا فى جوامعها و لا فى اقسامها. و نحن مُمثّلون منها مثالا، و ذلك مثل زكوٰة الفطر، فان قوما قالوا هى فرض، و قوما [8] قالوا ليست فرضاً، و قال قوم هى منسوخة. و مثل زكوٰة العُروض [9] المتخذة للتجارة، فان قوماً قالوا الزكوة فيها واجبة، و قال آخرون لا زكوٰة فيها [10]. ثم اختلف موجبو الزكوٰة فيها ايضا [11] اختلافاً لا سبيل الى الجمع بينهم فيه، فقال بعضهم نُخرج من اثمانها، و قال آخرون نخرج من اعيانها [12]. و مثل هذا كثير.

(١) نسخة بانكى فور: للنفعة بجمع، و نسخة بمبای: المنفعه تجمع.
(٢) نسخة بانكى فور: مسايل. (٣) نسخة بانكى فور: ادا.
(٤) فى نسخة بانكى فور: اختيار، و هو تصحيف.
(٥) فى نسخة بمبای: الجارى بالراء المهملة فى كل موضع وقعت فيه هذه الكلمة.
(٦) نسخة بانكى فور: و. (٧) الزيادة فى نسخة بمبای.
(٨) نسخة بمبای: قوم. (٩) قد حذفها الناسخ فى نسخة بانكى فور.
(١٠) لم يذكر فى نسخة بانكى فور. (١١) محذوف فى نسخة بانكى فور.
(١٢) فى نسخة بانكى فور: نخرج من اعيانها العروض، و هو خطأ من الناسخ.

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فقد كان من هذا النوع فليس هذا الكتاب موضع ذكره، و له موضع آخر، ان اعاننا الله بقوة [منه] (١) و تاييد، و امدّنا بعُمر و فراغٍ فسنجمع كل صنف منها فى مكان هو امثَلُ (٢) به ان شاء الله تعالى، و لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم. و هاهنا نحو من الاجماع ليس هذا الكتاب مكانه، و هو ان يختلف العلماء فى مسألة فيُبيحها (٣) قوم و يحظرها آخرون، او يوجبها قوم و لا يوجبها آخرون. فلابد من (٤) ان يكون الحق فى قول احدهم و سائرهم مبطلون، اما ببرهان سمعى او ببرهان عقلى شرطى، [اذا تُقُصِّيَتْ (٥) اقسام المقالة على استيعاب و صحة /ارتبة (٦)] (٧) فيكون [ص ٢ الف نسخة بانكى فور] حينئذٍ اجماع المُحقِّين (٨) فى تلك المسألة اجماعاً مرجوعاً اليه مستصحبا فيما (٩) اختُلِف فيه منها ما لم يمنع من شىء من ذلك نصٌّ. و ذلك كاجماع القائلين بالمساقاة و القائلين بالمزارعة على اباحة شىءٍ من فروعها فيوقف (١٠) عنده. فهذه وجوه الاجماع التى لا اجماع سواها، و لا تقوم حجة بالاجماع من غيرها البتة.

و قد اَدْخَلَ قوم فى الاجماع ما ليس فيه. و قوم عدّوا قول العشر حجةً، و قوم عدّوا ما لم يعرفوا (١١) فيه خلافاً و ان لم يقطعوا عليه [على] (١٢) انه لا خلاف فيه، فحكموا على انه اجماع. و قوم عدّوا قول الصاحب المشتهر المنتشر اذا لم يعلموا له من الصحابة رضى الله عنهم مخالفاً، /و ان [ص ٢ الف نسخة بمبای]

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(١) الزيادة فى نسخة بمبای.
(٢) كذا فى الاصلين، و لعل الصواب: اَلْيق او ما فى معناه.
(٣) نسخة بانكى فور: فيحلها. (٤) محذوف فى نسخة بانكى فور.
(٥) نسخة بانكى فور: اذا نقضت، و نسخة بمبای: اذا تقضيت، و لعل الصواب ما صححناه.
(٦) لعل الصواب: برهان، فالرتبة لا معنى لها.
(٧) كذا وردت هذه الجملة فى الاصلين، و لعل يد الناسخ تصرفت فيها تصرفاً فصيّرتها قلقة كما ترى.
(٨) فى نسخة بانكى فور: المحققين، و هو غير صواب.
(٩) نسخة بمبای: فيها.
(١٠) نسخة بانكى فور: و توقف. (١١) نسخة بمبای: ما لا يعرف.
(١٢) الزيادة فى نسخة بمبای.

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وجد الخلاف فى التابعين فمَنْ بعدهم فعدّوه اجماعاً. و قوم عدّوا قول الصاحب الذى لا يعرفون له مخالفاً من الصحابة رضى الله عنهم أجماعاً و ان لم ينتشر و لا اشتهر. و قوم عدّوا قول اهل المدينة اجماعا. و قوم عدّوا قولُ اهل الكوفة اجماعا. و قوم عدّوا اتفاق اهل العصر الثانى على احد القولين[1] او اكثر كانت فى العصر الذى قبله اجماعا. و كل هذه آراءٌ فاسدةٌ، و لنَقْضِها مكانٌ آخر ان شاء الله تعالى. و يَكْفى من فسادها انّا نجدهم يتركون فى كثير من مسائلهم ما ذكروا انّه اجماع. و انما لَجَأُوا الى تسمية ما وصفنا اجماعا عناداً منهم و شغبا عند اضطرار الحجة و البراهين لهم الى[2] ترك اختياراتهم الفاسدة. و ايضا فانهم[3] لا يُكَفِّرون من خالفهم فى هذه المعانى، و من شرط الاجماع الصحيح ان يُكَفَّر مخالفه[4] بلا اختلاف بين احد من المسلمين فى ذلك. و لو كان ما ذكروا اجماعا لكفر مخالفوهم، بلْ لكفروا هم، لانهم يخالفونها كثيراً. و لبيان كل هذا مكان آخر، و لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم.

و قوم قالوا الاجماع هو اجماع الصحابة رضى الله عنهم فقط. و قوم قالوا اجماع كل عصر اجماع صحيح، اذا لم يتقدم قبله فى تلك المسألة خلاف. و هذا هو الصحيح لاجماع الامة عند التفصيل[5] عليه[6] و احتجاجهم به، و ترك ما اصّلوه[7] له. و لا خلاف بين احد فى ان انتظار جميع القرون التى لم تُخلق بعد لتُعرف اقوالُهم باطلٌ لا معنى له، و انما اختلفوا على القولين اللذين قدمنا. و قوم اخرجوا من الاجماع ما هو اجماع صحيح، و قالوا اذا اجتمع اهل العصر كلّهم على قول ما ثم بَدَا لاحدهم غيرُه[8] فله ذلك. و هذا خطأ لبراهين واضحةٍ لها مكان آخر

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(١) فى الاصلين: قولين.
(٢) فى نسخة بانكى فور: الا، و هو خطأ من الناسخ.
(٣) نسخة بانكى فور: و ادعافاتهم، و هو ظاهر البطلان.
(٤) فى نسخة بمبای: من خالفه. (٥) كذا فى الاصلين و لعل الصواب الفصل.
(٦) نسخة بمبای: عليهم. (٧) نسخة بانكى فور: ما اصلوا.
(٨) فى الاصلين: عنه.

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ان شاء الله. بل اذا صح الاجماع فقد بطل الخلافُ، و لا يَبطُل ذلك الاجماع ابدا[1]. و اذا صح الخلاف فقد بطل الاجماع، و لا يَبطُل ذلك الخلاف ابدا. و قوم من اصحابنا قالوا الاجماع لا يكون الا من[2] توقيف[3] من النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم. و قوم قالوا قد يكون الاجماع من[2] قياس. و هذا باطل. و قوم قالوا الاجماع يكون من وجهين، اما من[2] توقيف منقولٍ الينا معلومٍ. و اما من دليل من توقيفٍ منقولٍ الينا معلومٍ. و لكن اذا صحّ الاجماع فليس علينا طلب ذلك الدليل، اذ الحجة بالاجماع قد لزمت. و هذا هو الصحيح. و قوم من اصحابنا قالوا اذا اتفقت طائفة على مسألتين، فصحّ[4] قولُهم فى إحداهما بدليل وجب ان الاخرى صحيحةٌ. و هذا غير ظاهر، و ليس له فى الاجماع طريق لما بَيَّنّا فى غير هذا الكتاب.

وصِفَةُ الاجماع ما يُتَيَقَّن[5] انه لا خلاف فيه بين احد من علماء الاسلام، و نَعْلم ذلك من حيث علمنا الاخبار التى لا يتخالج[6] فيها شكٌّ: مثل انّ المسلمين خرجوا من الحجاز و اليمن ففتحوا العراق و خراسان و مصر و الشام، و انّ بنى امية ملكوا دهراً ثم ملك بنو العباس، و انه كانت وقعة صِفّين[7] و الحرة، و سائر ذلك مما يُعلم بيقينٍ و ضرورةٍ. و انما نعنى بقولنا "العلماء" من حُفظ عنه الفتيا[8] من الصحابة، و التابعين، و تابعيهم، و فقهاء الامصار، و ائمة الحديث، و من تبعهم رضى الله عنهم. و لسنا نعنى [ص ٢ ب نسخة بانكى فور]

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(١) محذوف فى نسخة بمبای.

(٢) كذا فى الاصلين. (٣) التوقيف هو كالنص.

(٤) فى نسخة بانكى فور: فصح به، و "به" زائد لا معنى له.

(٥) فى الاصلين: يتقن، و لعل الصواب يتيقن.

(٦) فى نسخة بانكى فور: لا يتجالح، و لا معنى له.

(٧) نسخة بمبای: بين صفين.

(٨) نسخة بمبای: الفتى.

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ابا الهُذيل(١)، و لا ابن كيسان(٢) الاصمّ، و لا بِشر بن المعتمر(٣)، و لا ابراهيم ابن سيار(٤) النَّظّام، و لا جعفر بن حرب، و لا جعفر بن مُبَشّر(٥)، و لا ثُمامة(٦)، و لا ابا غفار(٧)، و لا الرقّاشى(٨)، و لا الازارقة(٩)، و لا الصَفرية(١٠)، و جهال

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(١) فى نسخة بانكى فور: الهذيل. و لعل الصواب ابا الهذيل، و هو حمدان بن مكحول العلاف المتوفى سنة ٢٢٦، شيخ من شيوخ المعتزلة. قد ذكره ابن حزم فى كتابه الفصل فى الملل و الاهواء و النحل (جزء ٤ ص ١٩٢ و غيرها) و الشهرستانى فى الملل و النحل (ص ٣٤ – ٣٧، طبعة لبسيك سنة ١٩٢٣).

(٢) نسخة بانكى فور: نسيان، و ابن كيسان لعله ابو عبد الرحمٰن طاووس بن كيسان اليمانى كان فقيهاً جليلاً، مات بمكة حاجاً فى سنة ١٠٦. انظر طبقات الفقهاء، ص ٥٠.

(٣) هو من افضل علماء المعتزلة، قد اشتهر بالقول بالتولد و الافراط فيه، توفى سنة ٢٣١. راجع الفصل (جزء ٤ ص ١٩٧) و الملل و النحل (ص ٤٤ و ٤٥) لاخباره.

(٤) فى نسخة بانكى فور: ابراهيم بن سيان، و هو تصحيف. و ابراهيم بن سيار ابن هانى النظام كان رئيس النظامية، و اكبر شيوخ المعتزلة، و مقدمة علمائهم، و من تلامذته الجاحظ. وردت اخباره فى الفصل (جزء ٤ ص ١٩٣ و غيرها) و فى الملل و النحل (ص ٣٧–٤٢).

(٥) جعفر بن حرب و جعفر بن مبشر، كلاهما من اهل الاعتزال، قد ذكرهما الشهرستانى فى الملل و النحل (ص ٤١ و غيرها).

(٦) لعله ثُمامة بن اشرس النميرى المتوفى سنة ٢١٣، احد علماء المعتزلة، و اصحابه تسمى بالثمامية. راجع الفصل (جزء ٤ ص ١٩٥) و الملل و النحل (ص ٤٩ و ٥٠).

(٧) نسخة بانكى فور: ابا عقال.

(٨) فى نسخة بانكى فور: الدقابى، و لعل الصواب: الرقّاشى، و هو كما نظنه الفضل بن عيسى الرقاشى الخارجى، قد ورد ذكره فى الملل و النحل (ص ١٠٣ و ١٠٦).

(٩) قائدهم ابو رافع بن الازرق، خرجوا على عبد الله بن الزبير رض و قتلوا عماله. و من شر ما ابتدعوا انهم كفّروا كبار الصحابة كعثمان رض و طلحة رض و الزبير رض، و اجمعو على ان مرتكب الكبيرة يخرج من الاسلام و يخلد فى النار. راجع الملل و النحل (ص ٨٩ – ٩١).

(١٠) هم اصحاب زياد بن الاصفر، و من معتقداتهم ان فاعل الكبيرة لا يكفر اذا كان لها حد كالزنا و السرقة و الا فيكفر كترك الصلوة، راجع الملل و النحل، ص ١٠٢.

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الإباضيّة (١)، و لا اهل الرفض. فان هؤلاء لم يعتنوا بتثقيف الآثار (٢)، و معرفة صحيحها من سقيمها، و لا بالبحث عن (٣) احكام القرآن لتمييز حق الفتيا من باطله (٤) بطريقٍ محمودٍ. بل اشتغلوا عن ذلك بالجدل (٥) في اصول الاعتقادات. و لكل قوم عملهم (٦). و نحن و ان كنا لا نُكَفِّر اكثر من ذكرنا، و لا نُفَسِّق كثيراً منهم، بل يتولى (٧) جميعهم حاشا من اجمعت الامة على تكفيره منهم، فانا تركناهم لاحد الوجهين اما لجهلهم بحدود الفتيا و الحديث و الآثار، و اما لفسقٍ ثبت عن بعضهم في افعاله و مُجُونه (٨) فقط كما نفعل (٩) بمن كان من اهل نِحلتنا (١٠) جاهلاً او ما جنا، و لا فرق، و بالله التوفيق. و لسنا /نخرج عن جملة العلماء من ثبت عدالتُه و بحثُه [ص ٢ ب نسخة بمبای] عن حدود الفتيا و ان كان مخالفاً لنحلتنا (١١) بل نعده (١٢) خلافا لسائر (١٣) العلماء، و لا فرق، كعمرو بن عبيد (١٤)، و محمد بن اسحاق (١٥)، و قتادة بن

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(١) هم اصحاب عبد الله بن اباض الذى خرج فى ايام مروان بن محمد. و قد اتفقوا على ان من ارتكب الكبيرة كفر كفر النعمة لا كفر الملة. راجع الملل و النحل، ص ١٠٠ و ١٠١.

(٢) فى نسخة بمبای: لم يتعنوا من تثقيف الآثار، و فى نسخة بانكى فور: لم يعينوا من تثقيف الآثار، و نظن ان يد الناسخ تصرفت فى هذه الكلمات بالاصلين، و لعل الصواب ما صححناه.

(٣) فى الاصلين: من البحث على. (٤) فى الاصلين: باطلها.

(٥) نسخة بانكى فور: بالجول. (٦) نسخة بمبای: علمهم.

(٧) كذا فى الاصلين، و لعل الصواب نتولى صيغة المتكلم.

(٨) المجون: عدم المبالاة. (٩) فى نسخة بمبای: يفعل.

(١٠) نسخة بمبای: خلتينا، و نسخة بانكى فور: نحلينا.

(١١) نسخة بانكى فور. لتحلنا. (١٢) نسخة بمبای: يعتد به.

(١٣) فى الاصلين: كسائر.

(١٤) هو ابو عثمان عمرو بن عبيد بن باب، كان من رواة الحديث، معروفاً بالزهد، و له رسائل و خطب، توفى فى سنة ١٤٤. راجع وفيات الاعيان لابن خلكان، طبعة ستنفلد، جزء ١، النمرة ٥١٤.

(١٥) لعله محمد بن اسحاق بن خزيمة بن المغيرة السلمى، من اهل نيسابور، كان امام زمانه بخراسان، و كانت ترحل اليه الائمة من بلاد شتّى. مات سنة ٣١٢. راجع طبقات الفقهاء ص ٨٦ و ٨٧.

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دعامة السدوسى [1] و شبابة بن سوار، و الحسن بن حى [2] و جابر بن زيد [3] و نظرائهم، و ان كان فيهم القدرى [4]، و الشيعى، و الامامى [5]، و المرجى [6]، لانهم كانوا اهل فضل و علم و خير [7] و اجتهاد. و غَلَطُ هؤلاء فيما خالفونا [8] فيه كغلط سائر العلماء فى التحليل و التحريم، و لا فرق.

و انما نُدخل فى كتابنا الاجماع التام الذى لا مخالف فيه البتة، الذى يعلم كما نعلم [9] اَنّ صلوة الصبح فى الامن و الخوف ركعتان، و اَنّ شهر رمضان هو الذى بين شعبان و شوال، و اَنّ هذا الذى فى المصاحف هو الذى اتى به محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم، و اخبر انه وحى من الله تعالى اليه، و ان فى خمس من الابل شاةً، و نحو ذلك. و هى ضرورة

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(١) فى نسخة بمبای: و السدوسى. و قتادة هذا ابو الخطاب قتادة بن دعامة السدوسى البصرى الاكمه، كان تابعياً و عالماً كبيراً، مات سنة ١١٧. و السدوسى نسبة الى عدى بن شيبان، و هى قبيلة كبيرة كثيرة العلماء. راجع ابن خلكان جزء ٤ النمرة ٥٥٢، و طبقات الفقهاء ص ٧٢.

(٢) فى نسخة بانكى فور: و الحسن يرجى، و هو غير مستقيم.

(٣) كذا فى الاصلين، و لعل الصواب: جابر بن يزيد، و هو ابو الشعثاء جابر بن يزيد الازدى، احد فقهاء التابعين بالبصرة، توفى سنة ١٠٣ و قيل سنة ٩٣. راجع طبقات الفقهاء، ص ٦٩.

(٤) قد يطلق اسم القدرية على اهل الاعتزال، و قيل هذا لقب جماعة قائلة بان القدر خيره و شره من الله تعالى. راجع الملل و النحل ص ٢٩ و ٣٠.

(٥) الامامية هم القائلون بامامة على رض بعد النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم، و الطاعنون فى الخلفاء الثلاثة ابى بكر رض و عمر رض و عثمان رض، راجع الملل و النحل ص ١٢٢ – ١٢٤.

(٦) المرجئة هى جماعة كانت ترجئ اى تؤخر فى حكم صاحب الكبيرة فلا تقضى هل يدخل الجنة او يصلى النار. انظر الملل و النحل ص ١٠٣ و ١٠٤.

(٧) نسخه بانكى فور: خبر،

(٨) نسخة بانكى فور: خالفوا.

(٩) نسخة بانكى فور: تعلم.

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تقع فى نفس الباحث عن[1] الخبر، المُشْرِف على وجوه نقله [اذا تتبعها المرء من[2] نفسه فى كل ما يَمُرُّ به من احوال دنياه و اهل زمانه وحده[3] ثابتا مستقرا فى يقينه][4] . و ما توفيقنا الا بالله [و به نستعين و نتايد][5] .

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(١) فى الاصلين : على .

(٢) نسخة بمبای : المومن .

(٣) كذا فى الاصلين ، و لعل الصواب : وجده.

(٤) كذا وردت هذه الجملة بالاصلين ، و هى كما تظهر قلقةٌ غير واضحة .

(٥) الزيادة فى نسخة بمبای.

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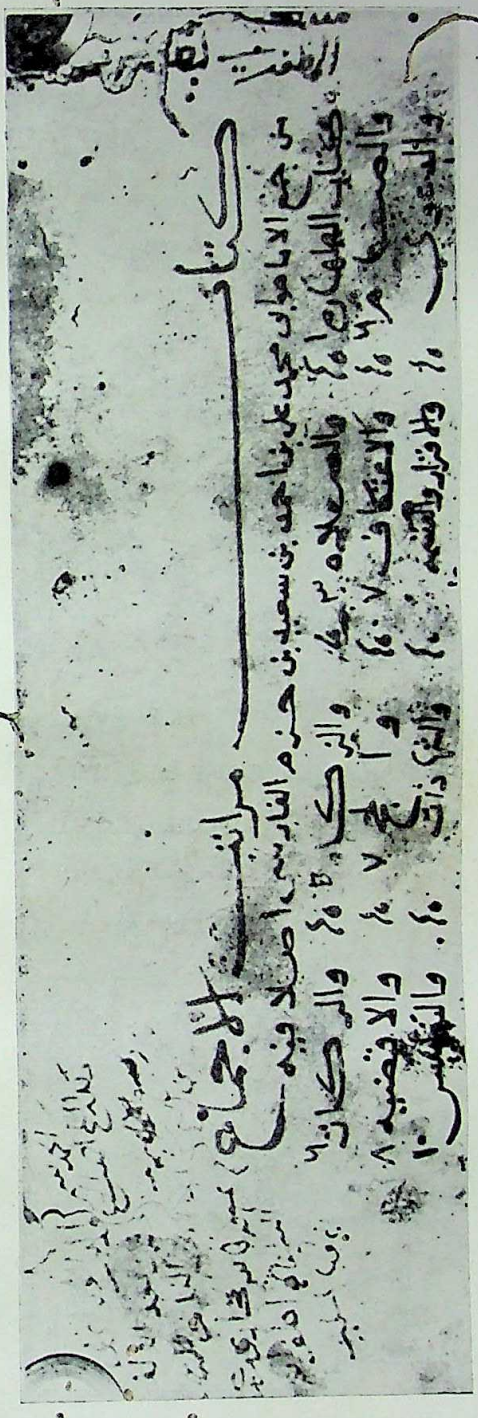

A portion of the title-page of the Bombay MS.

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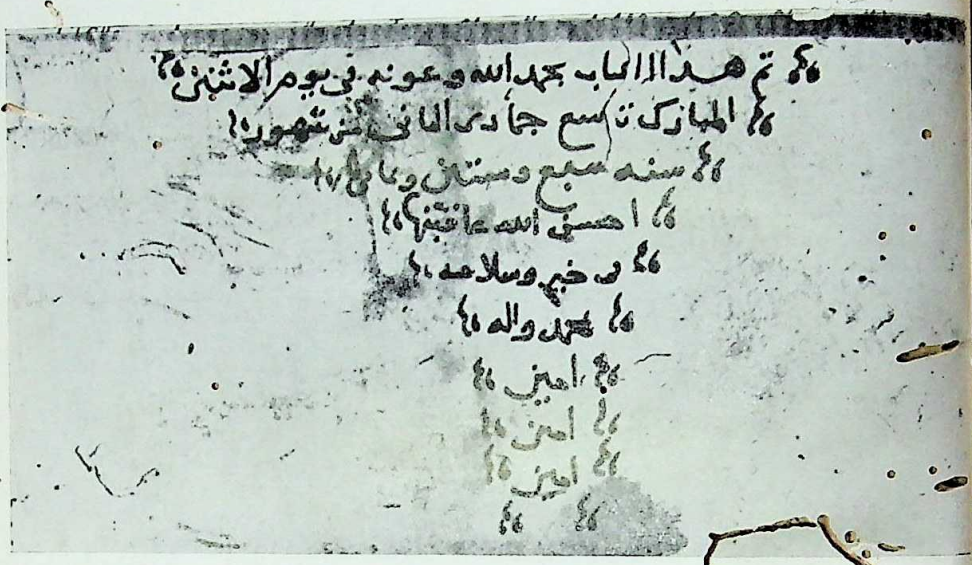

The colophon of the Bombay MS.

تم هذا الكتاب بحمد الله و عونه فی یوم الاثنین
المبارک تاسع جمادی الثانی من شهور
سنة سبع و ستین و ثمانی مائة
احسن الله عاقبتنا
فی خیر و سلامه
لمحمد و آله
آمین
آمین
آمین

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Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1952.

CHICACOLE PLATES OF GAṄGA ANANTAVARMAN.

By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., *Ootacamund*

Near about the year 1913, six sets of copplerplates were discovered at a place near Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) and were secured by the late Dr. C. Narayana Rao. They were noticed in the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1918-19 and were edited with Plates in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VIII, 1933-34, pp. 163 ff. jointly by Dr. C. Narayana Rao and Mr. R. Subba Rao. The plates are now preserved in the office of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. Of these, C.P. No. 8 of 1918-19 is an interesting record. Unfortunately the text of the inscription and its interpretation, as published by Narayana Rao and Subba Rao, are both full of errors. They say that the Gaṅga king who issued the charter is called a devout *Bhāgavata* and that he issued the following order to his subjects of the village of Nājekaraḍa: 'I have granted the village, free from all taxes, to Māṇapa-bhaṭṭa who belongs to the Bhaṭṭa-Nārada *gotra*'. They also think that the document was written by Viñja and executed by Viñja's son Mahīnda. Unfortunately each one of the above statements is based on wrong reading and misunderstanding of the epigraphic text and is utterly unwarranted. In the first place, nobody in the record has been called a *Bhāgavata*. Secondly, no village of the name Nājekaraḍa is mentioned in it. The gift land was again a *khaṇḍa-kṣetra* together with four *hiḍas* and not a whole village. Thirdly, the actual donor was one Vūrasī and the annual rent of the land is specified as 10 *māṣakas* probably of silver. Fourthly, the donee was a Brāhmaṇa as well as his *Satra* and this Brāhmaṇa was Nāra (or Nārada) who belonged to the Dakṣa *gotra* and was the son of Māṇapa-bhaṭṭa. Fifthly, there are several mistakes, both of reading and of interpretation, in the statement about the writer and executor of the document.

The inscription is engraved on three plates, the first and third of which have writing only on the inner side. The plates are described as measuring each 6 inches by 3 inches and as weighing, together with the ring (3½ inches in diameter) and the seal (1½ inches in diameter), 72 *tolas*. The seal is said to bear on its surface a crescent above and a standing bull facing right below.

The characters belong to the 'Kaliṅga script', an admixture of both Northern and Southern forms of letters. An interesting feature of the palaeography of the inscription is the use of a variety of forms of a single letter. Sometimes the letters have their old Telugu and Grantha forms. The engraving is careless, very often favouring the cursive forms of letters. The record may be palaeographically assigned roughly to the ninth or tenth century. The language is corrupt Sanskrit. The orthography of the record exhibits considerable influence of the local pronunciation.

The charter is not dated. It was issued by the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman, who enjoyed imperial dignity and was the son of Devendravarman. As the document is not dated, it is difficult to identify the kings with any amount of certainty. But the imperial titles were used by the Eastern Gaṅga monarchs only from about the end of the ninth

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century A.D. Anantavarman's title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*, as well as the palaeography of the inscription, therefore precludes the possibility of an earlier date. It is difficult to identify the issuer of the present grant with *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, son of *Mahārāja* Devendravarman, of the Parlakimedi plates of the Gaṅga year 204 (Bhandarkar, No. 2049). A probable identification of the Gaṅga king who issued the charter under discussion is with king Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman, of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 358 (854–56 A.D.), published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. But the text of that record is extremely corrupt and the issuer of the charter is not endowed with any imperial title. It is thus difficult to determine the correctness of this identification. It is probably better to identify *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* Anantavarman of our inscription with an as yet unknown son and successor of *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Devendravarman of the Chidivalasa plates of the Gaṅga year 397, published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 149 ff. and re-edited by me in this journal.

The inscription, like other records of the earlier Eastern Gaṅgas, begins with the symbol for the expression *siddham* and the word *svasti*, which are followed by a reference to the Gaṅga capital whence the charter was issued. This was the *adhivāsaka* of the victorious Kaliṅganagara which resembled the city of the gods. Then follows in lines 2–13 the usual description of the reigning Gaṅga monarch, viz. Anantavarman son of Devendravarman. The king is endowed with the epithet *Paramamāheśvara* (i.e. devout worshipper of Maheśvara or Śiva) as well as with the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The other passages of the description including those speaking of the king as belonging to the spotless family of the Gaṅgas and as being devoted to the god Gokarṇasvāmin (Śiva in the *liṅga* form) established on a peak of the Mahendra mountain (i.e. the Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district) are common with numerous records of the earlier Eastern Gaṅgas. Lines 13–15 say how the king's order was addressed to the important people including the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (headmen of the *rāṣṭra* or Pargana) together with their officers living in the Kiṁṭṭakavartani *viṣaya* (district). The order was in regard to the grant of a piece of land (*khaṇḍa-kṣetra*) producing one hundred standard measures of paddy as well as four *hiḍas* in a village called Dvikāthadha-grāma in the Dvipaṁca *sīman* (subdivision). *Hiḍa* is an Oṛiyā word meaning 'embankment', although in the inscription under notice it seems to indicate a piece of raised, i.e. homestead, land, the same as *bhiṭa* or *bhiṭā* (from Sanskrit *bhitti*) in Oṛiyā. The donee (lines 17–20) was a Brāhmaṇa named Nāra (or probably Nārada) who belonged to the Dakṣa *gotra* and was a student of the Kāṇva branch (of the Yajurveda). He is said to have been a good student of the Vedic literature and was engaged in the six acts or duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa, viz. *adhyāpana*, *adhyayana*, *yajana*, *yājana*, *dāna* and *pratigraha* (*Manusmṛti*, X, 75). The donee's father was Māṇapa-bhaṭṭa and he was probably an inhabitant of Kāmavāha-Yāhnuṇa-grāma. Lines 20–23 says that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, with libations of water, for the increase of the merits of the donor as well as of his parents. It was made by means of a copperplate charter and was enjoyable as long as the moon and sun endure. It is further said that the real donor was a person named Vūrasī and the real donee a *Satra*, apparently under the care of the Brāhmaṇa Nāra (or Nārada). A subsequent addition seems to suggest that Vūrasī made the grant in conjunction with another person named Oṇḍilipeṭhi. Line 24 says that the *pratyāya* (rent) of the above land

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was ten *māṣakas*, although it was to be enjoyed with the usual *parihāras* or exemptions. *Māṣaka* here may indicate ten small coins or silver weighing ten *māṣakas*. Frequent mention of *rūpyaka-pala* or *rūpyā-pla* in the specification of the annual rent in the *kara-śāsanas* (i.e. deeds recording grant of revenue-paying land) of ancient Orissa, however, seems to support the second of the two suggestions. According to Manu (VIII, 135) and some other early writers, a *māṣaka* of silver has the weight of two *ratis*, i.e. 3·66 grains, although, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the Madras Museum plates of king Narendradhavala of Orissa appear to speak of a *māṣaka* of 5 or 8 *ratis* of silver. The *Śabdakalpadruma* speaks of the *māṣaka* of 5, 6, 7 and 8 *ratis*, while Wilson's *Glossary* mentions *māṣas* of 5, 8 or 10 *ratis*. It seems that Vūrasī purchased the land from the king and granted it in favour of the Brāhmaṇa or his *Satra* and that the grant was ratified by the king who allowed the donee certain special privileges. The nominal rent mentioned above seems to have been payable by the donee to the king annually. The boundaries of the arable land as well as the homestead land were clearly defined with the help of stone pieces. Lines 27–36 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Then follows a passage saying that the document was written by the *Sandhivigrahin* Vijika. The inscription ends with the mention of Mahīndapa, son of Vichana of Velugrāma, and of the prince Vistīrṇabuddhi. Of these two persons, the former was probably the engraver of the plates and the latter the executor of the grant.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Kaliṅganagara and Mahendr-ācala are well known. Kaliṅganagara is now usually identified with Mukhalingam near Śrīkākulam (Chicacole). The Kiṁṭṭakavartani *viṣaya*, Dvipaṁca *sīman* and the villages Dvikāthadha, Kāmavāha-Yāhuva and Velū are mentioned in connection with the gift land. I have not succeeded in identifying them satisfactorily.

Text[1]

First Plate

1. Siddham ‖[2] Svasty=Amarapur-āṇu(nu)kāriṇa(ḥ*) sarvvatra(rtu)-sukha-ramaṇi(nī)yā-
2. d=vijayavat-Kali[ṁ]ganagar-ādhivāśa(sa)kāt Ma[he](ṁ*)dr-āca-
3. l-āmala-śikhara-prati[ṣṭhi]tasya sa-car-ācara-guro(ḥ*) saka-
4. la-bha(bhu)van-aika-nirmāṇe(ṇ-ai)ka-su(sū)tradhārasya sa(śa)sā-(śā)[ṁ]ka-cūḍāma-
5. ṇer=bhagavato Gokarṇṇasvāmina(ḥ*) caraṇa-kamala-yu-
6. gala-pravā(ṇā)mād=viga(ta*)-kali-kalaṅko n-aik-āhava-saṁkṣobha-
7. ja[ni]ta-jayaśavda(bda)-pratāpa-nata-samasta-sāma(nta-cūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-maṁ*)jari-pu[ñja]-ra-
8. [ñji]ta-vara-caraṇa-kamala(ḥ*) sita-kumuda-kund-end-ā(ndv-ā)-vadāta(to)
9. vinirgata-yaśa(ḥ*)-sa(ma*)st-ārāti-[ku]l-ācalo naya-vinaya-

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[1] From the facsimile published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, and impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

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Second Plate : First Side

10. °dāvā-dāna-(dā*)kṣinya(ṇya)-śauryy-audārya-satya-tyāg-ādi-ṇu-(gu)na-
11. sampad-ādhāra-bhūto paramamāheśvara-paramabhaṭṭāra[ka]-mahā-
12. rājādhirāja-Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilakaḥ De(ve*)ndravarma-su(sū)-ntu(nuḥ)
13. śrī[1]-[A]naśta(nta)varmadeva(ḥ*) kuśalī Kiṁttal[illegible]rtani-viṣaye rā-
14. ṣṭrakuṭanī[2] sa-karaṇa(ṇān) (a*)dhikṛtya sadhā(ma)sta-pradhāna-jāṇā(na)padā-
15. n samājñāpayanti(ti) vid[i]tam=astu bhavatā(ṁ*) pradata-(ttāni ?)
16. Dvipamca-sīma-Dvikāthadha-grāme khaṇḍa-kṣetra-dhānya-śateka-
17. kuśaṇa-yo-bhuvi-sāhitīya[3] catvāri hiḍa Kāmavāha-
18. Yāhnuṇa-grāma-sya(sa)dā-vā(?)ñcāḍavya[4] -Māṇapabhaṭṭa-su-
19. ta |[5] -bhaṭṭa-Nāra[6] Dakṣa-gotrāya |[7] Kando-śākhāya |[8] vedhyena-sa-

Second Plate : Second Side

20. mpanā(nnā)ya |[9] ṣaṭ-karm-ābhiratāya |[9] so(ma*)-grahaṇ-[10] oparāge sa-
21. lila-dhārā-pu(pū)rvakena(ṇa) |[9] mātā-pitror=ātmanaś=ca |[9] puny-a(ṇy-ā)bhi-
22. vṛdha(ddha)ye |[11] ā-caṁdr-ārka-kālaṁ tāmr[illegible]śāsanaṁ kṛtvā sya(sa)-
23. tre pradata(ttāni ?) Vūrasī-nāmnā | na kenaci(t*) paripanti-(nthi)nā bhavi-
24. tavyaṁ(vyam |) samucita-pratya(tyā)yā(yo) daśa-māsa(ṣa)kā-(ḥ*) | ma(a)para-
25. samasta-parihārakeṇa bhū(bho)ktavya(m*) | atra sīma-liṅgā-
26. ni likhyante | caturbhi[12] diśa pāṣāṇai sthāpya ralaṁkṛta
27. gūha-vṛtis=tath=aiva ca | Bhu(Bhū)mī(miṁ) saḥ(yaḥ) pratigṛhnā(hṇā)ti |[13] ye[14] ca bh[ū]m[i](miṁ)
28. prayacchati | ubhau tau punya(ṇya)-karmāṇau |[15] nī(ni)yataṁ |[15] svarga-

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[1] The rule of *sandhi* has been neglected here. Better read *śrīmad-Ana°*.
[2] Read *°kūṭān*.
[3] Read *°śat-aika-karṣaṇa-yogya-bhūmi-sahitāni chatvāri hiḍāni*, or better *°śat-aik-otpattika-bhūmi°*. For *hiḍa* or *hīḍa*, see the Kendupatna plates (Set I) of Narasiṁha II, *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 33–39; also *Pramoda Abhidhāna* (Oṛiyā), s.v.
[4] The intended reading seems to be *vāstavya*.
[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluously used to indicate something like the hyphen in English.
[6] Read *Nārāya*. The intended reading may also be *Nāradāya*.
[7] Omit the *daṇḍa* and read the following word as *Kāṇva*.
[8] Omit the *daṇḍa* and read the following expression as *ved-ādhyayana°*.
[9] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.
[10] Read *grah-oparāge*.
[11] Omit the *daṇḍa* which is preceded in the original by another mark forming part of the punctuation.
[12] The intended reading seems to be *bhūmeś=catuḥ-sīmānaḥ pāṣāṇair=alaṁ-kṛtās=tath=aiva gṛha-bhitter=api*.
[13] Omit the *daṇḍa*.
[14] Read *yaś=ca*.
[15] Omit the *daṇḍa*.

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29. gāmina(nau) || Sa(Sva)-datāṁ(ttāṁ) para-[da]tā(ttāṁ) vā(vā)
yo hareti(ta) vasundharā(m |*)
30. sa viṣṭā(ṣṭhā)yāṁ kṛmī(mi)-[1]
Uṇḍilipeṭhi-nā[mā] [2]

Third Plate

31. r=bhu(r=bhū)tvā |[3] pī(pi)tṛbhi(ḥ*) saha pacyati(te) |(| *)
Hiranya(ṇya)m=[e]ka[ṁ] [gām=e]k[āṁ]
32. bhūmim=ape(py=e)kam=ā(m=a)ṅgulaṁ(lam) | hara(n*) nara-
kam=āyāti |[4] yāva-
33. d=ādbhu(bhū)ta-samplava(m*) |(| *) Iti kamala-dala(l-ā)-mvu-
(mbu)-vindu-(lo*)lā(ṁ*) śri-
34. yam=anucintya manuśya(ṣya)-jī(vi*)tañ=ca(| *) sakalaṁ=i-
35. ha(da)m=upāgatañ=ca vu(bu)ddhā(dhvā) |[4] na hi puruṣai(ḥ*)
ya(pa)ra-ki(kī)-
36. rttay[o] vino(lo)pyāṁ(pyāḥ) || likhitaṁ sandhivigrahī(hi)-Vi-
37. jiken=ai(n=e)ti || Velugrāma-vāstavya-Vīcana-su-
38. ta-|[5] Mahīndapa|[6] [7] ka(ku)māra-Viṣṭi(ṣṭī)rṇṇavu(bu)ddhi-
(ḥ ||*)

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1 There is a dash-like sign here possibly to indicate the incomplete nature of the passage. The rest of the line is blank with the exception of a few letters scratched about the end of the line afterwards.

2 These letters were added afterwards to indicate a correction. It may be suggested that the correction is to be inserted in line 23 after *Vūrasī-nāmnā* and that the reading intended is *Uṇḍilipeṭhi-nāmnā ca*.

3 The *da* is superfluous.

4 Omit the *daṇḍa*.

5 Omit the *daṇḍa* which was used to indicate something like the English hyphen.

6 Read *Mahīndapen=otkīrṇam*.

7 Read here *ājñā* or *ājñaptiḥ*, the same as *dūtakaḥ* in North Indian grants. With the form of *v* in *vu*, cf. that of *v* and *k* in *vatka* in line 2.

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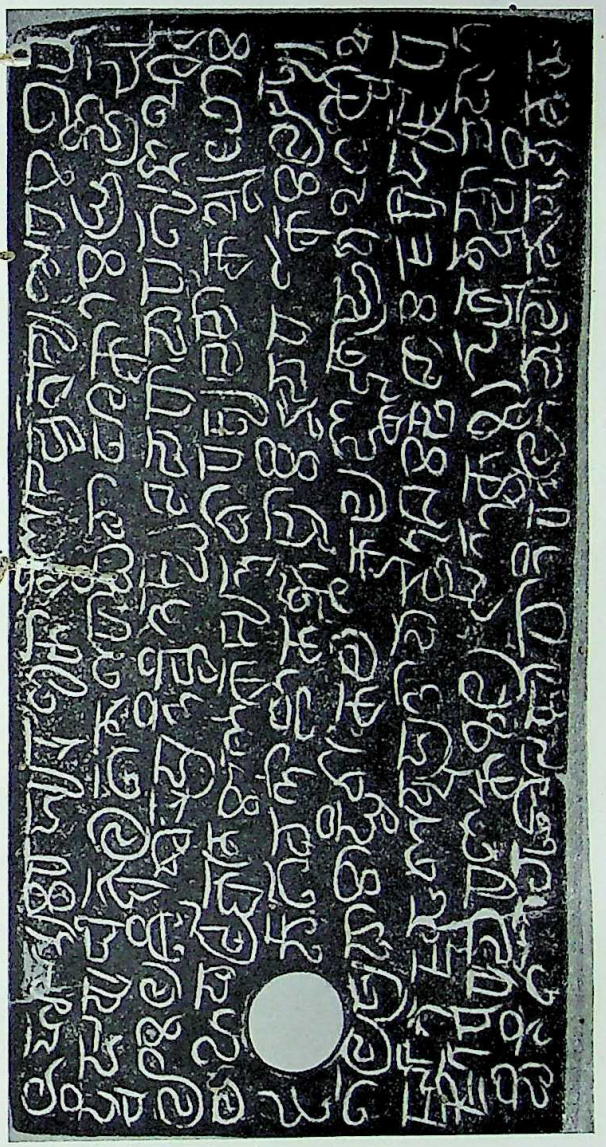

Chicacole Plates of Ganga Anantavarman
First Plate

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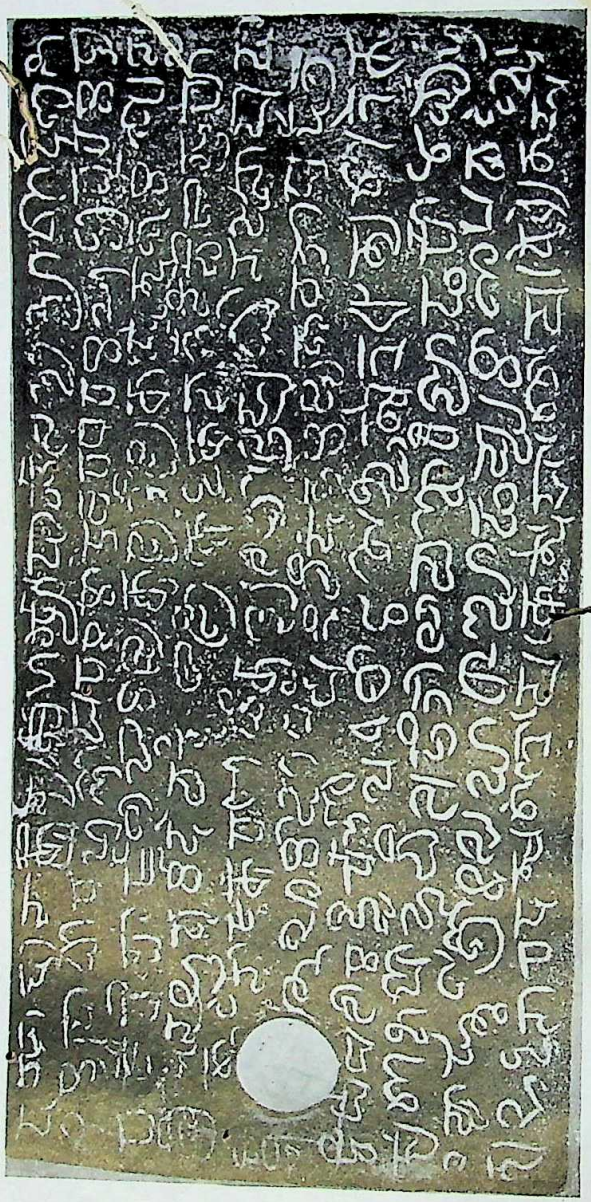

Chicacole Plates of Ganga Anantavarman
Second Plate: First Side

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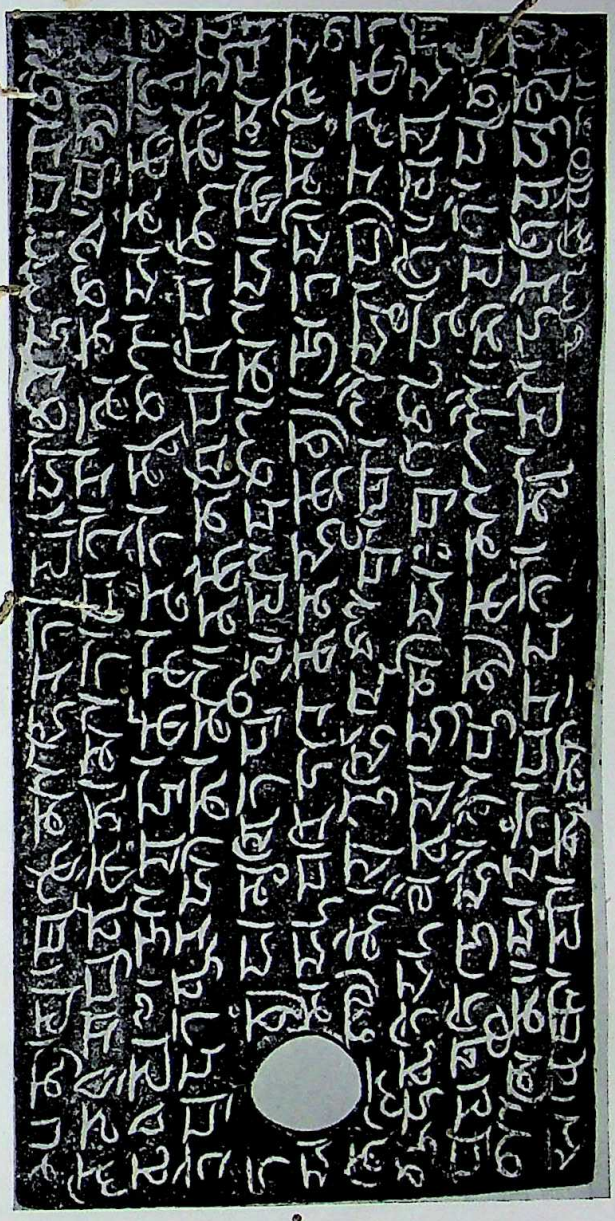

Chicacole Plate of Ganga Anantavarman
Second Plate : Second Side

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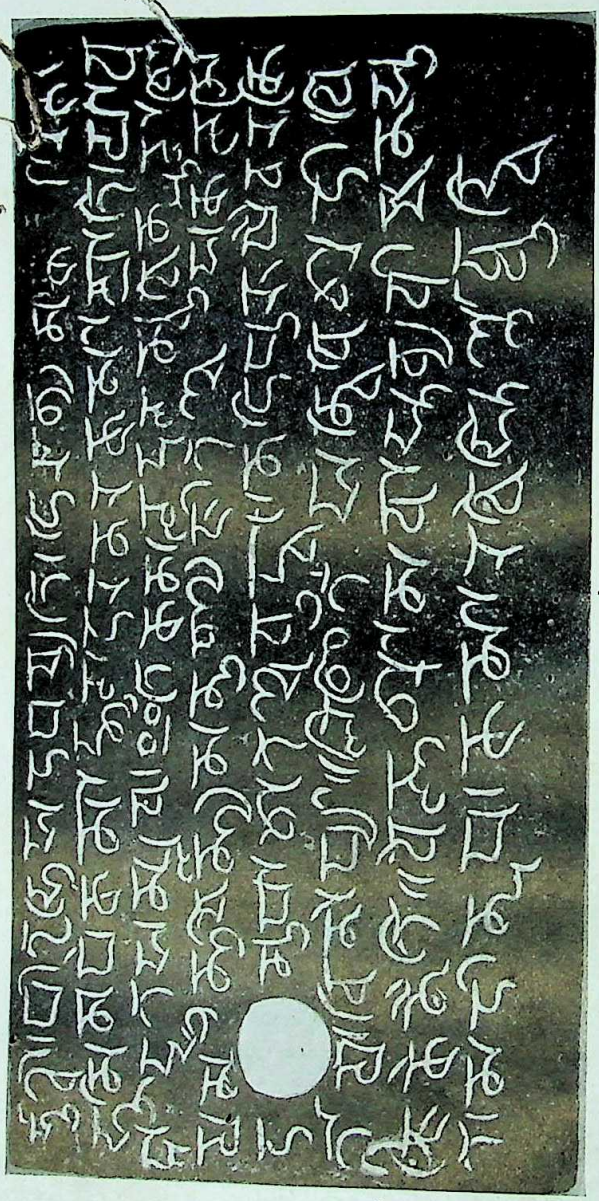

Chicacole Plates of Ganga Anantavarman
Third Plate

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Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1952

NEW LIGHT ON SHER SHAH'S EARLY CAREER

By NIRODBHUSAN ROY

(*Received October 19, 1951*)

(Communicated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi)

Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi or the chronicle of Sher Shah's reign is a unique Persian manuscript which was used by chroniclers like Sujan Rai Bhandari as a quarry for historical material in the 18th century. Strangely enough, all copies of this manuscript have perished; fragments of it containing chapters two and six only were discovered by Professor Rushbrook Williams in Bhopal and noticed by him in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1921. This chronicle was composed by a noted grandee of Sher Shah's court, Hasan Ali Khan[1] who was associated with the former in all his adventures and vicissitudes and finally raised to the peerage under the title of *Amir-i-Asman-Shukoh* Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur.

Here is given the English translation of the Persian extract published in the *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, July 1950. This extract is of particular importance for the history of Sher's early life, on account of its revealing his youthful follies, use of *nikah* (matrimony) with the widowed Begams as a means to his personal aggrandisement, and also his solicitude for the ryots as expressed in the noble utterance, 'I am the servant of the people'. It offers a candid glimpse into Sher's early life and gains in greater weight and authority than the narrative of Niamatullah or Rizqullah Khan who made of Sher the national hero of the Afghan race, by glossing over his foibles and giving more credit to him as an administrator than he was entitled to.

AN ACCOUNT OF FARID'S COMING TO HIS PATERNAL JAGIR

When Farid reached Mungir,[2] he applied himself to organizing the affairs of the administration and the management of the jagir. First of all, he put a complete stop to the forced labour which dated from the commencement of the auspicious reign of Sultan Ghori.[3] An edict was

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[1] Our thanks are due to Professor Abdur Rashid for publishing the Persian extract. There is, however, one point to which his attention need be drawn. According to him, Hasan Ali Khan died in 957/1550 A.D. two years after the completion of his *tarikh*. This statement is opposed to the internal evidence of the text, according to which Hasan Ali left Delhi for Bihar after the re-establishment of the Mughal rule, 1554 A.D. This apparent discordance should be reconciled. It would be a great service to scholarship if the text of the other chapter is traced out and published.

[2] According to *Makhzan-i-Afghana* (henceforth abbreviated into *M.A.*) Sasarem and Khawaspur Tanda with the dependency of Rhotas formed Hasan's jagir, the management of which was entrusted to Sher, (Sir Jadunath's copy of *Karpurtala MS.*, fol. 2) and Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. (abbreviated into *A.S.B. MS.*) 76b.

[3] Shihabuddin Ghori alias Muizuddin Muhammad who is reckoned as the founder of the Muslim rule in India. Babur also in his *Memoirs* dates the commencement of the Moslem rule from the time of Shihabuddin Ghori, *History of India* by Elliot and Dowson, IV, 259.

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issues in erdicting forced labour and giving precedence to the welfare of people above every other matter. He remitted various kinds of imposts levied upon the cultivated fields of husbandmen and did not take any other dues than the land tax (produce of the land). He appointed a person in every village who became his partner in protecting the just rights of the people. He cherished the ryots with the utmost justice and consideration and used to say 'I am the servant of the subjects'. On account of the prevailing turmoil in Hindustan and the revolution of the times, one thousand husbandmen migrated to live under the protective shadow of his authority. They engaged themselves in tillage and doubled the produce of the land.

One of these proprietors of land was a Kshatri of Marwar who lived in peace under his protection. He bore the name of Jai Singh and had a daughter of delicate frame with moon-like face and angelic features. Once I rode out in Farid's company. While returning from the excursion, we passed by his house. On account of the heat and warmth of the summer, we felt exhausted and asked for water. This angelic figure fetched water and refreshed both of us. Farid became completely enamoured and bewitched at the sight of her beauty and his heart was pierced with the arrow of love. He returned home with a heart burnt and senses bewildered. I offered him good advice. He used to go every day to the house of this beloved moon-faced and enliven his spirits by a sight of her moon-like face.

The news of this unexpected affair reached Jai Singh. The proud Rathor resolved to quit this country. On hearing this news, Farid made a sudden swoop on him, forcibly took away the daughter from the father's possession and saturated himself with the sweet water of union with the moon-faced. He ordered Jai Singh to be kept in confinement. The latter outwardly trod the path of submission and loyalty and prayed for being set at liberty. When he obtained release from prison, he became firmly resolved on killing Farid and looked about for means to approach his presence with a view to realize his intention of wreaking vengeance.

Once I was standing before Farid when Jai Singh stepped into his presence; after an endearing and friendly speech, he whipped out a dagger and delivered a blow on Farid's head. I grasped his arm and having wrenched away the dagger, sent the accursed to hell. Farid offered thanks and said, 'Sire! I look upon you as a sincere friend of mine. Heart and soul I am your servant and slave.' When this shocking news reached the daughter of Jai Singh, she was totally upset. For nine days and nights, she gave up food, drink and sleep in mourning for her murdered father and abandoned herself to grief. The immeasurable woe of Farid is beyond the description of my pen. The lamentation of the beloved poured salt upon the wounded heart of the lover. One day this chaste woman lighted up a fire and consigned herself into the burning flames and was cleaned of impurity by being burnt. The cup of Farid's patience was filled to the brim and he intended to take away his own life. Bearing silently the sorrow of his heart, once he went to a solitary spot, with a view to stab himself to death with a poisoned dagger, so that the angel-protected person might be bereft of help from me, I mean, Hasan, who, on account of separation from the world illuminating sun (Farid) had lost all stock of patience and strength, went to the secluded place and administered consolation to the Farhad-natured, saying, 'Oh my king! Withhold your hand and beware of this whimsicality'. Verse :—

'The world is a trial for every person
It brings into play sport such as this.

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Howevermuch, you may think of her,
She has to return to dust again.
Her passingaway in this wise you should not lament
I do not know what would be the upshot of this affair.

All that is on earth will perish, but will abide for ever the face of thy Lord, full of majesty, bounty and honour'.[1] In conformity with the idea of this miraculously-worded language—the end of all existence is destruction and eternity is only attributable to that real Beloved who has made destruction partner of the personalities of the whole world—you should resign yourself to the mercy of God and seek solace for your tormented spirit. I restrained with the greatest difficulty the young plant of the garden of sovereignty from the wicked design. While he listened to this speech, he declared that his mind had become composed and repeated the formula, 'We are for God and unto Him do we return'. Addressing me by name he said, 'Sire, you have rescued the life of Farid from the whirlpool of destruction for the second time. Your good-will is beyond the bounds of repayment.'

The impress of grief was yet fresh in the mind of Farid and this Farhad[2] had not yet effaced the memory of his Shirin,[2] when the intelligence of the terrible happening reached Farid's father. As soon as the latter heard the scandalous words, the intensity of his wrath surpassed the bounds of moderation. This second incident lent support to the first affair. The cantankerous concubine who had alienated his mind from Farid set his wrath ablaze, (so that) this short-tempered (Hasan) burst out saying, 'I had considered all the old complaints to be baseless, but the disclosure of this (recent) event has proved the truth of the first charge. He then turned his face towards the creator of the world and said 'If I do not punish this God-forsaken scoundrel according to the measure of his action, may God deprive me of the benefits of paradise'. Thereupon accompanied by the sons born of the crooked concubine, he set out for Farid's place.[3] Farid became intent on hostilities but thinking the moment inopportune, he put it off and turned his thought towards the highroad of belief summed up in the words 'Oh you men of intelligence, take warning from them'. Thereupon Hasan entrusted the management of his jagir to the care of his sons and Farid accompanied by his brother (Nizam) proceeded to the court of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and enlisted himself in the service of emir Daulat Khan.

Daulat Khan (who) was one of the distinguished grandees of this court, showed kindness to Farid and Nizam. In order to fulfil and carry out his engagement he represented to the Sultan saying, 'The jagir has been ruined by the rigorous exactions of Hasan's sons, Sulaiman and Ahmad. Justice and a sense of duty demand that you should place it in the hands of Farid and Nizam, so that one of them might engage himself in the management of the estate and the other in the service of His Majesty, the sultan'. These words disgusted Ibrahim who remarked that whoever

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[1] *Al Quran*, 55 : 26.

[2] Farhad-Shirin—a celebrated pair of Persian lovers....Farhad, a statuary or stone cutter was the unfortunate rival of Khusrau. Nizami was the first to write on the subject of Khusrau-o-Shirin. Forhad had almost bored through the mountain Bisutun to win the hand of his beloved when he fell dead on being falsely told that Shirin was dead. (*Ency. Islam*, Vol. 18, p. 67. Claud Field, *Persian Literature*, 122–25).

[3] The account given here of Farid's perversities in youth refutes the current notion derived from *Makhzan-i-Afghana* about Sher's dismissal from his father's jagir due solely to the machination of his step-mother who, according to *M.A.* was originally a Hindu woman.

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complained against his father did not deserve the confidence of kings[1] and (the management of) the affairs of the royal administration. Daulat Khan replied saying 'Hasan is thus behaving with his sons, owing to the machination of his concubine and the instigation of mischievous persons; the conferment of the superintendence of the jagir in the hands of Sulaiman and Ahmad has caused the ruination of the fertile district'. Finding this representation to be of no avail, he kept silent.

About this time Hasan fell down from his horse and died. Daulat Khan informed His Majesty the sultan of this event and called his attention to the situation of both (Farid and Nizam). Sultan Ibrahim with a view to the fulfilment of his obligation, granted them Hasan's jagir, on condition of military service and fixed the annual revenue at one thousand rupees. Farid returned to his ancestral jagir with Nizam and became engaged in the preservation of public peace and the well-being of the ryots. He summoned Sulaiman to his presence and spoke to him conciliatory words; but this malicious person turned away from the path of concord and understanding and carried complaint against Farid to the Jaunpur ruler.[2]

It is well-known that this was the time of Zahiruddin Babur's advent. A great calamity hang over the dominion of Sultan Ibrahim. The ruler of Jaunpur assigned an allowance to Sulaiman and said, 'It is advisable to await the outcome of this battle; if victory befriends the Lodis, I shall induce Ibrahim to wrest away Hasan's jagir from Farid and Nizam and place it under your management'. He sent, however, a messenger to Farid, so that he might refrain from precipitating matters and pursue the path of peace and accommodation. It is known that this courier was Sayyid Nasir Khan, who being appointed to the office of mace-bearer of the Sultan had discharged his duties with the utmost fidelity. Sultan Ibrahim had forcibly taken hold of the daughter of this loyal servant and dragged her away into his harem. (Thereupon) Nasir Khan left the court of this despicable Sultan and having taken shelter under Alauddin, sought from revengeful motive the redress of his grievances. Both Nasir Khan and his brother Alauddin[3] appeared before the august throne of Sultan Zahiruddin Babur and conveyed into the ear of this sublime lord intelligence about the affair of the sultan and the dissension among the officers of his court. Babur directed Nasir Khan to await until his advent in Hind and keep him informed of the doings in Sultan Ibrahim's court. When Nasir Khan returned to the territory of the exalted (Sultan) Ibrahim and effected reconciliation with him, one of the well-wishers of his court who knew all about the matter, warned him against this treacherous man. Nasir Khan sought the protection of the sultan of Jaunpur.

This distinguished ruler (who) belonged to the line of the Faith-protecting and noble Sultan Shihabuddin Ghori (May Allah's mercy be upon him) nourished grievances in his heart against Sultan Ibrahim. He soothed Nasir Khan and appointed this wise man to the post of the Qazi. But the apprehension of a clash with the Mughals commanded by Zahiruddin Babur and the possibility of the downfall of the Afghan supremacy, turned this

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[1] This is also the version of *M.A.*, *Sarkar MS.*, 6, *A.S.B. MS.* 78a.

[2] According to *M.A.* (*Sarkar MS.* f. 7 and *A.S.B. MS.* f. 78a) Farid got back his father's jagir by means of a *farman* granted by Sultan Ibrahim and Sulaiman unable to cope with him, sought the protection of Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of Chaund.

[3] Alauddin better known as Alam Khan, was the son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi and therefore uncle of Sultan Ibrahim. Both he and his brother Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of the Panjab sought Babur's help to depose their nephew from the throne of Delhi (vide *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 11, Elliot and Dowson, op. cit. 241–244).

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discord into harmony. Muhammad Khan Sur, having professed submission and loyalty, made preparation for the contest with the Mughals. He told Nasir Khan that Ibrahim had now become tied in wedlock with his daughter and this was not the occasion for hostility with him. In short, he sent Nasir Khan to Farid (with a message) to make a peaceful and amicable settlement of the matter and turn his arm against the Mughals by composing their mutual differences which otherwise would cause Afghan downfall. 'It was his duty to grant one of the villages to his brother and gird up his loin for fighting with the Mughals, backed by the contingent of his war-like cavalry, so that the Afghan rule might continue and their ancestral dominion might not pass into enemy hands.' When Nasir Khan delivered this message, Farid replied, 'The villages and districts occupied by me have been done by the mandate of Sultan Ibrahim and the authority of the Jaunpur ruler is not binding on me. In the matter of conquest and the business of administration, the ties of kinship are not to be observed. Whoever wields the sword (successfully) gets the coin stamped in his own name. Who is this Muhammad Khan that at his command I should abdicate my rights and admit another man's interferences?'[1] This is sheer imagery and raving. Muhammad Khan was very angry to hear these insulting words and said, 'If I cannot crush the vanity of this rebel by the strength of the scimitar and put my dagger to his head, I would refuse to call myself Muhammad Khan'.

About this time Babur invaded the country of Hind; Sultan Ibrahim was slain at his hands. Farid feeling upset, looked about for benevolent patrons. An eminent Afghan chief was Bahadur Khan Luhani who had assumed the title of Sardar-i-Hind during the period of general anarchy and firmly founded his sway in the province of Bihar. It should be stated that Bahadur Khan was a crooked and designing person, who, notwithstanding promises, withdrew his helping hand from Sultan Ibrahim and perhaps contributed thereby to the Mughal victory. Having left Nizam in his jagir, Farid entered the service of this Luhani chief in company with this faithful (Hasan). We acquired a firm footing in a short time; I was appointed superintendent of revenue, while Farid was made wazir and the guardian of his son.

Once while out on an excursion for the pastime of the chase, we passed through a meadow the beauty of whose greenery, lying at the foot of a hill, lent lustre to all its sides. Seated underneath a tree we were roasting a deer, when a huge lion springing out of the ambush, pounced upon Bahadur Khan. Farid, having whipped out his dagger attacked the lion and administered such hard strokes that the lion was cleft into two. When Bahadur recovered his senses, he congratulated Farid upon his bravery. After returning he held a durbar in which he conferred upon Farid the title of Sher Khan, and a robe of honour, and expressed his sense of thankfulness in the open court. He further announced that he had vested Farid with full and unfettered authority as prime minister and guardianship of Jalal Khan.

Once (Sher) represented to Bahadur saying that he had been in attendance upon His Majesty for a long time and did not keep any account of his jagir, ryots and his brothers. If he were granted permission, he could obtain composure of mind by visiting the place. Bahadur Khan unhesitatingly granted this request. Sher Khan again represented, 'I

[1] According to *M.A.* Sher agreed to give Sulaiman the share and goods enjoyed by him during Hasan's lifetime, but he firmly resisted the proposal of yielding a share of authority in the management of the jagir.
Sarkar MS. f. 8, *A.S.B. MS.* 78b.

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have another petition to make; if this is approved by Your Majesty the King, it would be the height of favour and compassion.' Bahadur Khan said, 'Tell me so that I may issue necessary orders.' Sher rejoined, 'Be pleased to allow Hasan Ali Khan to accompany this servant as he is my old and devoted friend.' This request also obtained the honour of his approval. Accordingly that generous king (Farid) started for his jagir. He found all the ryots happy. Nizam (who) was engaged in the administration of it, did not deviate from the path of justice in any matter. Sher Shah publicly declared his satisfaction; he took the reins of management in his own hands, and applied himself to promoting the well-being of his subjects. Once I represented (to Sher) saying it was advisable for us to go back to Bahadur Khan and attain the honour of entering his service. Sher Khan said, 'Sire! Policy demands that we should equip an well-accoutred army and assemble war-like men so that in these days of general anarchy we might safeguard ourselves from the buffets of time and seize the sovereignty with the heavenly aid.' I had no faith (in this project); because it was hard to win sovereignty and apparently difficult to maintain. As regards Bahadur Khan, however, who had styled himself Sardar-i-Hind Sultan Muhammad, matters had so turned that Muhammad Khan had prejudiced the mind of this king by a misrepresentation that the motive behind the assemblage of a force on the part of Sher was the desire of this wicked person to come to grips with the victorious forces of Your Majesty and of the wretch having forgotten all duties and obligations.[1] He (King of Bihar) ordered Muhammad Khan to extirpate Sher Khan from his jagir as a retribution for his imaginary offences and to make over the *iqtas* and populated areas to his brother Ahmad and Sulaiman. He deputed a force of one thousand cavalry to this business which joined with another strong contingent attacked and broke the ranks of our forces.[2] In the extremity of despair we turned towards the jagir of Sultan Junaid Barlas.

Let it be stated Sultan Junaid[3] was a faithful and loyal adherent of the Timurid family and possessed a large army. By reason of his piety and spiritual powers he was (esteemed to be) an unrivalled scholar of the time and a unique man of the age. When we reached his headquarters, he was very kind and spoke to us soothing words. We represented the state of affairs to this noble personage who deputed a force to our assistance. We almost shattered the troops of Jaunpur with the aid of this victory-marked army. The ruler of that place was compelled to take shelter in the fortress of Rhotas and the *subah* of Jaunpur with all its dependencies passed into our hands. The settlement of this territory proved difficult to us. In accordance with the exigency of the situation we felt satisfied with our own jagir and sent a messenger to Muhammad Khan Sur so that he might resume his authority over Jaunpur. This astute person offered thanks; the rancour of his heart was changed into friendship. He bound himself by an oath of fidelity, and began the administration of the country. This arrangement was conducive to peace; (Sher) consigned into the hands of Nizam the management of his own jagir, some villages and parganas that had come into his possession; while he himself set out in the company of

[1] According to *M.A.* (*Sarkar MS.* 9, *A.S.B. MS.* 78b) Muhammad Khan poisoned Bahadur Khan against Sher by saying that the latter was contemplating hostility against him.

[2] According to the same authority, Sikka, father of Khwas Khan who commanded Sher's forces fell in the battle (*A.S.B. MS.* 79a).

[3] According to *M.A.*, Sultan Junaid was the governor of Manikpur-Kara (*Sarkar MS.* f. 11).

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this faithful servant for the court of Sultan Junaid Barlas. Sher Khan's victory delighted this bountiful person. Junaid wanted to proceed on a visit to attain the honour of kissing the feet of His Majesty Sultan Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur. He ordered us to ride in his company and achieve the distinction of waiting upon the august sovereign. When we reached his paradise-like headquarters, we obtained the honour of paying respects to His Majesty and were enrolled among his servants. Babur showed him (Farid) kindness and gave him a robe. Sultan Junaid Barlas opened his tongue in praise of Sher Khan and calling him by his name, said, 'You should remain in attendance upon the exalted king so that it may be a source of your elevation and good fortune.' Sher took the oath of fidelity in accordance with the usages of the Timurid court.[1] Babur as a mark of kindness, arranged a banquet to which Sher Khan was invited. The gravity of Sher's demeanour evoked the admiration of Babur. After he had taken his repast, the unmixed wine flushed up his temper; He transgressed the decorum of this gathering and addressing me by my name said, 'God willing, I shall drive the Timurid dynasty out of the country of Hind by the force of prowess and lay Afghan rule again upon a firm foundation. Nasir Quli and his brother overheard these words and immediately conveyed them to the ears of Babur. This speech caused the mighty ruler's indignation. He ordered Nasir Quli and Mihirban Quli to keep Sher under surveillance, take him into custody next morning and call him to account through Sultan Junaid Barlas. Due to sheer good luck, we came to know of this decree and informed Sher Khan of the danger. On that very night we secured two fleet horses and started for our home.[2] But he (Sher) sent a petition to Junaid Barlas and tendered apology saying, 'The motive for our departure without permission was the apprehension far from the movement of chiefs in the neighbourhood of our jagir. We deemed it urgent to return and safeguard our property and privileges, notwithstanding our subservience to this court and dedication to the cause of His Majesty the Sultan.'

Sher again returned to Sultan Muhammad who showed him great favour and kindness. Having forgot his old grievance, he confided to him the task of bringing up Jalal Khan. Soon after Sultan Muhammad passed away to the everlasting abode and Jalal Khan assumed absolute authority in the place of his father.

The administration of this kingdom and the regulation of all affairs were however, in the hands of Sher Shah who tied himself in wedlock

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[1] According to Niamatullah Sher remained for a longer time in Babur's service than the present account of Hasan Ali Khan would induce us to believe. Niamatullah states that Sher accompanied Babur to Chanderi and having observed the Mughal methods and practices (in warfare) remarked to his friends 'it was very easy to expel the Mughals from Hindustan, because their king was a lover of ease and luxury and does not trouble himself very much with the affairs of the world....In the past the fault of the Afghans lay in their disunion and mutual quarrel. If you come to my assistance, I shall unite the Afghans" (*A.S.B. MS.* 80a).

This homily on the inefficiency of the Mughal sovereign and internal weakness of the Afghans does not reflect the state of affairs existing in Babur's time. His brief period of sway was a tempestuous one, in which his inspiring personal leadership accounted more for the Mughal success than anything else. It is also clear from Hasan Ali Khan's account that chiefs like Muhammad Khan Sur made a laudable effort to rally the Afghans against Babur. Hence the speech ascribed to Sher by Niamatullah represents his own feelings and is put into Sher's mouth in order to heighten his greatness, for by the time when Niamatullah composed the Makhzan, Sher had become transfigured into a national hero of the Afghan race.

[2] This account coincides with that of Niamatullah (*Sarkar MS.*, f. 14).

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with the queen of Bihar[1] and took the reins of sovereignty in his own hands. He held a durbar in conformity with the practices of the Timurid dynasty and distinguished this old friend with the office of the secretary of the state. He based his administration on the firm foundation of justice and equity and declared the welfare and interest of the ryots and the well-being of the subjects to be his concern. In the administration of the kingdom and the affairs of the state, he did not give consideration to ties of kinship. Sher Khan gave order for the establishment of prisons and appointed stewards in charge of each of them. He lodged these prisons in impregnable forts. He directed all the grandees of the kingdom to assemble their forces and take the oath of fidelity. Some of the Afghan officers deviated from the path of submission and received punishment according to the measure of their deeds. Sher Shah ordered the refractory to be hanged on the gibbet. Once a complaint was brought that one of his cousins had misappropriated a sum of one thousand rupees. He went to the place of occurrence and passed an order for the jagir to be escheated and the culprit to be executed. The revenue of the kingdom increased fourfold and the subjects became happy.

It should be stated that Sher Khan cherished the thought of conquering Bengal and bound himself in an alliance with a distinguished nobleman of that kingdom.[2] By a strange coincidence the ruler of that country also had matured a ridiculous plan for the conquest of Bihar and courted the friendship of the Mungir governor. Both of them being bent on hostilities mustered a large army and turned towards the conquest of Bihar. On hearing the report of this unexpected event, Sher sent me to the governor of Mungir in order to dissuade the wretch from hostilities. I carried out this behest. But Qutb Khan the ruler of Mungir insisted on Sher Khan's payment of tribute and turned his face away from accommodation and peace.[3] I returned without achieving the object (but) came to know the state of affairs in that army. Sher Khan assembled the nobles of the kingdom of Jalal Khan and held a conference with them. The well-wishers of the state and the pillars of the kingdom unanimously counselled in favour of war and set about equipping an army. In short, a violent contest took place near Nurpura. Qutb Khan was slain;[3] countless booty fell into our hands. Four hundred thousand gold mohars came into our possession. Sher Khan ordered his victorious army to proceed to the headquarters, while he posted himself in the palace with the pillars of the state, such as Zamir Khan and Nasir Khan. He summoned a conference and said, 'If we send this valuable treasure to the seat of Caliphate, it would be the short-sightedness of the improvident. It is advisable to bury this treasure at this very place and having marked it by a special sign-post to return to the headquarters. All the officers extolled the wisdom of Sher Khan and set themselves to digging a deep vault. On the third night having consigned the entire treasure underground at a place which lies near Nurpura[4] and is not far off the tongue of the river,

[1] According to Niamatullah, her name was Dudu and she died shortly after the assumption of authority in her own hands (*Sarkar MS.* f. 15 and *A.S.B. MS.* 80b) Niamatullah glosses over the fact of Sher's marriage with the widowed queen as also of youthful indiscretion referred for the first time in this extract of *Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*.

[2] Apparently Makhdum-i-Alam, governor of Hajipur.

[3] According to *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* by Abbas Sarwani, Qutb Khan fell in the contest. Niamatullah is not therefore correct when he says that the Bengal Sultan Ghyasuddin Muhammad Shah deputed a force for the second time under Qutb Khan against Sher (*Sarkar MS.* f. 17, *A.S.B. MS.* 81a).

[4] I could not identify this place.

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we were ready to go back, when Sher Khan suggested an oath on the Quran with a view to maintain the secrecy of the treasure and ordered all the nobles to comply with it. Zamir Khan apologised saying, 'My statement is not less weighty than oath; therefore exempt me from swearing by the Quran'. The writer of these lines was also one among the nobles who became privy to this secret. When the Afghan rule passed into the hands of Islam Shah, that unworthy fellow wanted to get a knowledge of this secret. When with a view to honour this promise, I refused to divulge it, he punished me. Due to the revolution of the times and the establishment of the Mughal rule, I was forced to leave the capital. Once while passing by this locality, I recognised all the marks of that place and the memory of Sher Khan and the friendly gathering revived afresh in my mind.

Hemistich—Such is the way of the lofty heaven.

God be praised that he kept me firm in the path of right guidance so that the temptation of fortune and authority did not lead me astray from the path of rectitude. It would not be possible to ascertain the location of the treasure from the description set forth in the pages of this narrative.

It is well-known that after the occurrence of this singular affair Sher Khan went back to his headquarters.[1] This signal victory excited the jealousy of the nobles of Jalal Khan's court. All of them became bent on humbling Sher Khan who, being informed of their designs, took measures for his security. He put the contumacious chiefs under arrest and kept them confined within the prison-fortress. Jalal Khan who was an accomplice of this conspiracy realized his own weakness, and took recourse to stratagem. On the plea of trying his military strength with the king of Bengal, he marched towards the capital of Sultan Mahmud attended by his powerful chiefs. When he reached the court of the above sultan, he offered the fine province of Bihar at his disposal and thought about the means of uprooting Sher. The Sultan deputed Ibrahim son of Qutb to meet Sher Khan who had gathered a huge army. He (Sher) engaged the disorderly force, scattered the enemy and seized all the armour and camp-equipage.

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Conquest of the fort of Chunar.

It is known that when Rustam killed his father, the administration of the fort was thrown into confusion. Once I happened to be out on travel and chase when the news of his outbreak reached me. This humble self, having reached the neighbourhood of this place, took quick steps to quell the tumult of this parricide and rebel. Sher Shah was delighted at the chatisement of the cowardly Rustam. Having taken a deed for the delivery of the fort, he brought his brothers into the plain and conveyed a message for nuptials to Malika Ladu, widow of the murdered Taj Khan. The good-natured woman gave this auspicious proposal the place of acceptance in her heart. By such means we took possession of Chunargarh.[2] At this time the Afghans suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Mughals. Sultan Muhammad Lodi raised the standard of sovereignty and prepared himself for an engagement. The account of this fight and contest between Muhammad Lodi and Babur which we have dealt with elsewhere does not fall within the purview of this chapter.

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[1] The following account refutes the statement made in C.H. I, IV, 48 that Sher went back to Saseram after the first victory over the Bengal Sultan.

[2] For details of the capture of Chunargarh, vide *Makhzan-i-Afghana* (*Sarkar MS.* f. 18–19), Elliot and Dowson, IV, 341–346).

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Therefore, we shall describe in some other chapter the details of this matter. In short, Sultan Muhammad came to Patna, adorned the throne of sovereignty and despatched a large force for the conquest of the province of Bihar. He got complete hold and authority over it and distributed all the *iqtas* and holdings to the nobles of the state and the pillars of the kingdom. Sher Khan finding it difficult to cope with him tendered submission to him. The latter consoled Sher Khan and said, 'It is desirable that we should bind our scattered forces in the chain of unity and challenge the Mughals to a contest. If fortune befriends us we shall bring the *subah* of Jaunpur under our control and embrace the bride of kingship. I would then confer on you the *subah* of Bihar'[1] Sher replied saying, 'As far as it lies in my power, I shall not refrain from giving help to the Sultan.'

[1] An identical account is given in *M.A.* (*A.S.B. MS.* 82b, *Sarkar MS.* f. 20 Elliot and Dowson, IV, 347).

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NOTICE

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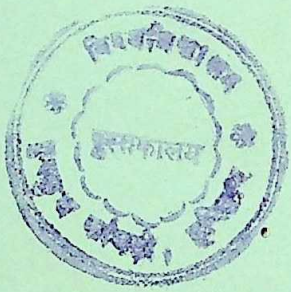

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